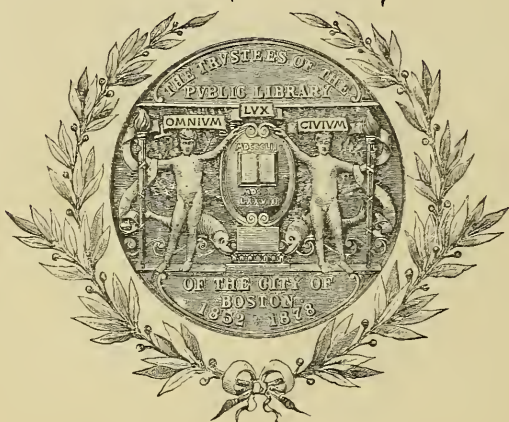


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Eng. of "Hallways".

The Massachusetts General Hospital

A
H I S T O R Y

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS
GENERAL HOSPITAL.

3722.2
BY N. I. BOWDITCH.

"Drink, weary Pilgrim, drink, and pray.
For the kind soul of Sibil Grey.
Who built this Cross, and Tell."
SCOTT'S MARMION.

NOT PUBLISHED.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY JOHN WILSON & SON,
22, SCHOOL STREET.

1851.

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P R E F A C E.

THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL — with its two departments, the Hospital for the Sick in Allen-street and the Asylum for the Insane in Somerville — is one of the largest and most important of the charitable institutions of this Commonwealth. Superintended by officers faithful to their trust, it has ever, in a high degree, enjoyed the confidence of the community, and been the object of public and private munificence. A brief history of this Institution, — of its small beginnings, its early difficulties, and its ultimate success, — an account of what has been done for it, and of what it has itself done in return, — will perhaps, to its friends and benefactors at least, prove not wholly devoid of interest. I have been personally connected with it, in the offices of Secretary and Trustee, for twenty-five years; and my father-in-law, EBENEZER FRANCIS, Esq., was one of its earliest and most active Managers. Our joint recollection extends back through the whole period of its existence. The materials for such a history were thus, to a considerable extent, either already possessed by me or placed easily within my reach. Their selection and arrangement have been “a labor of love.”

The frontispiece is an engraving on steel, representing a section of the panorama of Boston and its vicinity, taken by

means of a daguerreotype from the top of the State House. In the foreground appears the Hospital; at the left corner is part of the Medical College, the scene of a late fearful tragedy; and, in the background beyond the river, the hill is crowned by the Asylum, a peaceful retreat, standing forth from amid the foliage and shrubbery by which it is sheltered and secluded. I have been permitted by the Trustees to use a separate engraving of the Asylum, which has for several years belonged to the Corporation. The likeness of Dr. JAMES JACKSON was also executed for this publication from a daguerreotype, of which it is a very accurate copy, though the happiest expression has not been secured. The engraving of Dr. WARREN is from an existing plate, which he kindly placed at my disposal. After the volume was in the press, I learned, for the first time, that my friend and co-trustee, GEORGE M. DEXTER, Esq., had already prepared, at great labor and expense, large and elegant engravings of the interior and exterior of the Hospital, which, at a future day, he intended to publish, with some description of the establishment, historical as well as architectural. Of all these engravings, he, with great liberality, offered me the free use. This courtesy, however, I felt that I ought not to accept. His intended publication he will, as is hoped, yet complete. Its design is truly magnificent, and will not be superseded by the present compilation. If, indeed, that shall be regarded as letterpress worthy of accompanying his architectural illustrations, I may well be satisfied.

I have stated in page 13, that a proposed law of the last Session of the Legislature, relative to assurance on lives, did not pass. Such was my belief at the time, derived from the newspapers of the day. Official documents prove the passage of the law alluded to. (Chap. 165 of Session 1851.)

The chapter on the Ether-discovery is very much longer than I desired or expected. It contains nothing new, except perhaps the award of the French Academy, and also a note showing the extent to which ether is used in the Hospital. Readers of the present generation will probably omit it entirely; but the extracts from various pamphlets which it contains, familiar as these now are, may hereafter be of some interest and value, when time shall have rendered the originals difficult of access. The short letter of Dr. HENRY J. BIGELOW, in page 337, presents, as I conceive, in almost the condensed form of an algebraic equation, a clear, striking, and conclusive view of the merits of the whole controversy. The Academy, as will be seen, accord to Dr. MORTON the idea, thought, or purpose (*pensée*) of making this discovery, and to Dr. C. T. JACKSON the fact (*le fait observé*) of the safety of the agent used; and attributes the final result equally to them both, regarding the mental pre-occupation or engrossment (*préoccupation*) of the one, and the observations of the other, alike indispensable. This award is obviously an entire triumph of Dr. MORTON over the *exclusive* claims of his opponent, and must be to him the more gratifying, inasmuch as it has been gained from a tribunal, most if not all of whose members, though strangers to himself, are the scientific correspondents or personal friends of Dr. JACKSON.

It is due to the Institution to say, that this is not in any sense an official publication, but merely a private and humble contribution in its behalf,—a slight and inadequate expression of the interest felt in its welfare by one who has ever regarded as among his happiest hours those which he has been privileged to pass in its service.

BOSTON, OCTOBER, 1851.

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HISTORY

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL.

CHAPTER I.

URGENT NEED OF HOSPITAL. — BEQUEST OF WILLIAM PHILLIPS, 1804. — CIRCULAR LETTER, 1810. — CHARTER, 1811. — SUBSEQUENT ACTS TO 1851. — RIGHTS UNDER LIFE-INSURANCE CHARTERS. — GRANT OF PROVINCE HOUSE. — LEASE OF SAME FOR ONE HUNDRED YEARS, &c.

MORE than a third of a century has elapsed since the establishment of the Massachusetts General Hospital. Its endowments amount to, and perhaps exceed, one million of dollars. Its building for the sick, erected in a spacious enclosure of four acres, is one of the most imposing edifices of the city of Boston. Its Asylum for the Insane is beautifully situated on a rising ground within the quiet precincts of the adjoining town of Somerville. Nearly fourteen thousand patients have received the benefits of the former department of the institution, and more than thirty-three hundred have been inmates of the latter. The

greatest discovery of the age — the power of producing insensibility to pain — has gone forth from the one; while the like humane treatment, and the same high professional skill, evinced in the other, have extended its reputation throughout the length and breadth of our land, and gathered within its walls sufferers alike from the frozen North and the sunny South. One generation has passed away, and a new one has arisen. The circumstances and instrumentalities connected with those early days have thus, to a considerable extent, already become matters of tradition. Many of the original patrons and officers of the Hospital have gone to their reward. A few, indeed, yet survive, to rejoice in the extensive usefulness of a charity which they contributed, in an eminent degree, to establish and perpetuate. May the services alike of its living and its deceased founders be ever held in grateful remembrance!

At the beginning of the present century, Massachusetts had no Hospital or Insane Asylum, though such institutions had been for many years established in the States of New York and Pennsylvania. There were various indications, however, that the want of such establishments was beginning to be felt in our community. Thomas Boylston, Esq., by will dated Nov. 12, 1798, proved in 1800, made the town of Boston his residuary devisee in trust, among other

objects, to erect a small-pox hospital and a lunatic hospital. The testator was, unfortunately, a member of the firm of Lane, Frazier, and Company, of London, which became insolvent. Hon. William Phillips, by a codicil dated April 18, 1797, proved in 1804, bequeathed the sum of five thousand dollars to the town of Boston for this object.* In August, 1810, a circular letter was prepared by Drs. James Jackson and John C. Warren, addressed to several of our wealthiest and most influential citizens, for the purpose of awakening in their minds an interest in the subject. This circular letter may be regarded as the corner-stone of our institution.† On the 25th of Feb-

* "Fourthly, — I give to the town of Boston five thousand dollars, towards the building of a Hospital; and direct my executors to pay that sum to any person or persons whom the town shall appoint to receive the same, *as soon as they shall determine to begin the work.*"

† BOSTON, August 20, 1810.

Sir, — It has appeared very desirable to a number of respectable gentlemen, that a hospital for the reception of lunatics and other sick persons should be established in this town. By the appointment of a number of these gentlemen, we are directed to adopt such methods as shall appear best calculated to promote such an establishment. We therefore beg leave to submit for your consideration proposals for the institution of a hospital, and to state to you some of the reasons in favour of such an establishment.

It is unnecessary to urge the propriety and even obligation of succouring the poor in sickness. The wealthy inhabitants of the town of Boston have always evinced that they consider themselves as "treasurers of God's bounty;" and in Christian countries, in countries where Christianity is practised, it must always be considered the first of duties to visit and to heal the sick. When in distress, every man becomes our neighbour, not only if he be of the household of faith, but even though his misfortunes have been induced by transgressing the rules both of reason and religion. It is unnecessary to urge the truth and importance of these sentiments to

ruary following (1811), the charter was obtained from the Legislature. It incorporates James Bowdoin and fifty-five others of the most distinguished inhabitants

those who are already in the habit of cherishing them, — to those who indulge in the true luxury of wealth, the pleasures of charity. The questions which first suggest themselves on this subject are, whether the relief afforded by hospitals is better than can be given in any other way; and whether there are, in fact, so many poor among us as to require an establishment of this sort.

The relief to be afforded to the poor, in a country so rich as ours, should perhaps be measured only by their necessities. We have, then, to inquire into the situation of the poor in sickness, and to learn what are their wants. In this inquiry, we shall be led to answer both the questions above stated.

There are some who are able to acquire a competence in health, and to provide so far against any ordinary sickness as that they shall not then be deprived of a comfortable habitation, nor of food for themselves and their families; while they are not able to defray the expenses of medicine and medical assistance. Persons of this description never suffer among us. The Dispensary gives relief to hundreds every year; and the individuals who practise medicine gratuitously attend many more of this description. But there are many others among the poor, who have, if we may so express it, the form of the necessaries of life, without the substance. A man may have a lodging; but it is deficient in all those advantages which are requisite to the sick. It is a garret or a cellar, without light and due ventilation, or open to the storms of an inclement winter. In this miserable habitation, he may obtain liberty to remain during an illness; but, if honest, he is harassed with the idea of his accumulating rent, which must be paid out of his future labours. In this wretched situation, the sick man is destitute of all those common conveniences, without which most of us would consider it impossible to live, even in health. Wholesome food and sufficient fuel are wanting; and his own sufferings are aggravated by the cries of hungry children. Above all, he suffers from the want of that first requisite in sickness, a kind and skilful nurse.

But it may be said, that instances are rare among us, where a man, who labours, with even moderate industry, when in health, endures such privations in sickness as are here described. They are not, however, rare among those who are not industrious; and who, nevertheless, when labouring under sickness, must be considered as having claims to assistance. In cases of

of the various towns of the Commonwealth, by the name of the Massachusetts General Hospital, with power to hold real and personal estate of the yearly

long-protracted disease, instances of such a description do occur amongst those of the most industrious class. Such instances are still less rare among those women who are either widowed, or worse than widowed. It happens too frequently that modest and worthy women are united to men who are profligate and intemperate, by whom they are left to endure disease and poverty under the most aggravated forms. Among the children of such families also, instances are not rare of real suffering in sickness. To all such as have been described, a hospital would supply every thing which is needful, if not all they could wish. In a well-regulated hospital, they would find a comfortable lodging in a duly attuned atmosphere; would receive the food best suited to their various conditions; and would be attended by kind and discreet nurses, under the directions of a physician. In such a situation, the poor man's chance for relief would be equal perhaps to that of the most affluent, when affected by the same disease.

There are other persons, also, who are of great importance in society, to whom the relief afforded by a hospital is exceedingly appropriate. Such are generally those of good and industrious habits, who are affected with sickness, just as they are entering into active life, and who have not had time to provide for this calamity. Cases of this sort are frequently occurring. Disease is often produced by the very anxiety and exertions which belong to this period of life; and the best are the most liable to suffer. Of such a description, cases are often seen among journeymen mechanics and among servants.

Journeymen mechanics commonly live in small boarding-houses, where they have accommodations which are sufficient, but nothing more than sufficient, in health. When sick, they are necessarily placed in small, confined apartments, or in rooms crowded with their fellow-workmen. They are sheltered from the weather, and have food of some sort; and these must, in many cases, be the extent of their accommodations. Persons of this description would do well to enter a hospital, even if they had to pay the expense of their own maintenance. In most cases, they would suffer less, and recover sooner, by so doing. When, as sometimes happens, they have not the means of payment, they become objects of charity; and the welfare of such persons should be considered among the strong motives in favour of establishing a hospital.

Servants generally undergo great inconveniences, at least when afflicted

value of thirty thousand dollars. The Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, President of the Senate, Speaker of the House, and the Chaplains of both Houses, are

with sickness, and oftentimes much more than inconveniences. With so much difficulty is the care of them attended in private families, that many gentlemen would pay the board of their servants at a hospital, in preference to having them sick in their own houses. In some cases, however, neither the master nor servant can afford the expense of proper care in sickness. Not uncommonly, a young girl is taken sick in a large family, where she is the only servant. She lodges in the most remote corner of the house, in a room without a fireplace. The mistress is sufficiently occupied with the unusual labours which are thrown on her at a time perhaps when she is least fitted to perform them. Under such circumstances, how can the servant receive those attentions which are due to the sick? Of what use is it that the physician leaves a prescription to be put up at the Dispensary? He goes the next day, and finds that there has not been time even to procure the remedies which he had ordered; meanwhile, the period in which they would have been useful has passed by, and the incipient disease of yesterday has now become confirmed.

Persons of these descriptions would not be disposed to resort to a hospital on every trivial occasion. But, when afflicted with serious indisposition, they would find in such an institution an alleviation of their sufferings, which it must gladden the heart of the most frigid to contemplate.

There is one class of sufferers who peculiarly claim all that benevolence can bestow, and for whom a hospital is most especially required. The virtuous and industrious are liable to become objects of public charity, in consequence of diseases of the mind. When those who are unfortunate in this respect are left without proper care, a calamity, which might have been transient, is prolonged through life. The number of such persons, who are rendered unable to provide for themselves, is probably greater than the public imagine; and, of these, a large proportion claim the assistance of the affluent. The expense which is attached to the care of the insane in private families is extremely great, and such as to ruin a whole family that is possessed of a competence under ordinary circumstances, when called upon to support one of its members in this situation. Even those who can pay the necessary expenses would perhaps find an institution, such as is proposed, the best situation in which they could place their unfortunate friends. It is worthy of the opulent men of this town, and consistent with their general character, to provide an asylum for the insane from every part of the Com-

constituted a Board of Visitors. The institution is placed under the care of twelve Trustees, of whom four are chosen by the Board of Visitors. A grant

monwealth. But if funds are raised for the purpose proposed, it is probable that the Legislature will grant some assistance, with a view to such an extension of its benefits.

Of another class, whose necessities would be removed by the establishment of a hospital, are women who are unable to provide for their own welfare and safety in one of nature's most trying hours. Houses for lying-in women have been found extremely useful in the large cities of Europe; and, although abuses may have arisen in consequence, these are such as are more easily prevented in a small than in a large town.

There are many others who would find great relief in a hospital, and many times have life preserved when otherwise it would be lost. Such especially are the subjects of accidental wounds and fractures among the poorer classes of our citizens; and the subjects of extraordinary diseases, in any part of the Commonwealth, who may require the long and careful attention of either the physician or surgeon.

It is possible that we may be asked whether the almshouse does not answer the purposes for which a hospital is proposed. That it *does not*, is very certain. The town is so much indebted to the liberality of those gentlemen who, without compensation, superintend the care of the poor, that we ought not to make this reply without an explanation. The truth is that the almshouse could not serve the purpose of a hospital, without such an entire change in the arrangements of it as the overseers do not feel themselves authorized to make, and such as the town could not be easily induced to direct or to support.

The almshouse receives all those who do not take care of themselves, and who are destitute of property, whether they be old and infirm, and unable to provide means of assistance; or are too vicious and debauched to employ themselves in honest labour; or are prevented from so employing themselves by occasional sickness. This institution, then, is made to comprehend what is more properly meant by an almshouse, a bridewell or house of correction, and a hospital. Now, the economy and mode of government cannot possibly be adapted at once to all these various purposes. It must necessarily happen that in many instances the worst members of the community, the debauched and profligate, obtain admission into this house. Hence it has become, in some measure, disreputable to live in it; and, not unfrequently, those who are the most deserving objects of charity cannot be

was made of the Province-house Estate, so called, with authority to sell the same and use the proceeds at pleasure, provided that within five years an addi-

induced to enter it. To some of them, death appears less terrible than a residence in the almshouse.

It is true that the sick in that house are allowed some greater privileges and advantages than are extended to those in health; yet the general arrangements and regulations are, necessarily, so different from those required in a hospital, that the sick — far from having the advantages afforded by the medical art — have not the fair chance for recovery which nature alone would give them. Most especially they suffer for the want of good nurses. In these officers must be placed trust and confidence of the highest nature. Their duties are laborious and painful. In the almshouse, they are selected from among the more healthy inhabitants; but, unfortunately, those who are best qualified will always prefer more profitable and less laborious occupations elsewhere. It must, then, be obvious that the persons employed as nurses cannot be such as will conscientiously perform the duties of this office.

In addition to what has already been stated, there are a number of collateral advantages that would attend the establishment of a hospital in this place. These are the facilities for acquiring knowledge, which it would give to the students in the medical school established in this town. The means of medical education in New England are at present very limited, and totally inadequate to so important a purpose. Students of medicine cannot qualify themselves properly for their profession, without incurring heavy expenses, such as very few of them are able to defray. The only medical school of eminence in this country is that at Philadelphia, nearly four hundred miles distant from Boston; and the expense of attending that is so great, that students from this quarter rarely remain at it longer than one year. Even this advantage is enjoyed by very few, compared with the whole number. Those who are educated in New England have so few opportunities of attending to the practice of physic, that they find it impossible to learn some of the most important elements of the science of medicine, until after they have undertaken for themselves the care of the health and lives of their fellow-citizens. This care they undertake with very little knowledge, except that acquired from books; — a source whence it is highly useful and indispensable that they should obtain knowledge, but one from which alone they never can obtain all that is necessary to qualify them for their professional duties. With such deficiencies in

tional sum of one hundred thousand dollars should be obtained by private subscriptions and donations. A further term of five years was allowed by an Act of June 14, 1813. The charter imposed on the Corporation the obligation of supporting thirty of the sick and lunatic persons chargeable to the Commonwealth.

medical education, it is needless to show to what evils the community is exposed.

To remedy evils so important and so extensive, it is necessary to have a medical school in New England. All the materials necessary to form this school exist among us. Wealth, abundantly sufficient, can be devoted to the purpose, without any individual's feeling the smallest privation of any, even of the luxuries of life. Every one is liable to suffer from the want of such a school; every one may derive, directly or indirectly, the greatest benefits from its establishment.

A hospital is an institution absolutely essential to a medical school, and one which would afford relief and comfort to thousands of the sick and miserable. On what other objects can the superfluities of the rich be so well bestowed?

The amount required for the institution proposed may, at first sight, appear large. But it will cease to appear so, when we consider that it is to afford relief, not only to those who may require assistance during the present year or present age, but that it is to erect a most honourable monument of the munificence of the present times, which will ensure to its founders the blessings of thousands in ages to come; and when we add that this amount may be raised at once, if a few opulent men will contribute only their superfluous income for one year. Compared with the benefits which such an establishment would afford, of what value is the pleasure of accumulating riches in those stores which are already groaning under their weight?

Hospitals and infirmaries are found in all the Christian cities of the Old World; and our large cities in the Middle States have institutions of this sort, which do great honor to the liberality and benevolence of their founders. We flatter ourselves that in this respect, as in all others, Boston may ere long assert her claim to equal praise.

We are, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

JAMES JACKSON,
JOHN C. WARREN.

This provision was modified by the additional Act, so as to make the number of patients to be thus supported depend on the actual income derived from the Province House. The tendency of any such provision, however, was considered disadvantageous, as making the institution a merely pauper establishment; and it was virtually repealed by a resolve passed Feb. 13, 1816.

By this resolve of 1816, authority was finally granted for sale of the Province House, on the sole condition of giving bond to pay the proceeds of sale into the State Treasury, unless, within one year from such sale, said additional sum of one hundred thousand dollars should be obtained.

By a resolve passed June 12, 1817, it is provided that the stone for the erection of the Hospital should be hammered and fitted for use by the convicts in the State Prison. The work thus done is estimated at over thirty thousand dollars. And, by a resolve of Feb. 11, 1824, a bill due from the Hospital for stone work at the State Prison, for the use of the Insane Asylum (\$4,176.33), was remitted, as coming within the resolve of 1817.

An Act passed June 18, 1819, points out the mode of filling vacancies in the Board of Trustees. An Act passed Feb. 15, 1821, exonerates from performance of military duty certain officers of the Hospital;

and a like exemption is provided for by the Revised Statutes, passed in 1836.

By an Act passed Feb. 24, 1814, the Corporation was authorized to grant annuities on lives. In a charter, subsequently granted to the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, a proviso was inserted, by which one-third of its whole net profits from insurance on lives is made payable to the Hospital. An additional Act, passed Jan. 17, 1824, sanctions a most important agreement between these two Corporations, by which the Hospital, in lieu of all former rights, became entitled to one-third of all the earnings of said Insurance Company, over and above six per cent. Now, this Insurance Company has a capital of five hundred thousand dollars; and the chief branch of its business is the management of property deposited with it in trust, and for which a charge is made of one half per cent commission. The regular annual dividends for several years have been nine per cent, — say eight per cent to stockholders, and one per cent, or five thousand dollars a year, to the Hospital; and three *extra* dividends have also been received, making a total of \$150,687. In all the charters subsequently granted for insurance on lives, similar provisions in favor of the Hospital have been introduced, viz.: the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company, April 1, 1835; State Mutual

Life Insurance Company, March 16, 1844; the Bowditch Mutual Life Insurance Company, March 26, 1845. Little has yet been or ever can be realized under these latter charters, as the per centage of the Hospital is reckoned only on the *guaranty capital* of said companies, which is quite small. The granting of any such charter, without such a provision, would, however, exonerate the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company from all obligations in favor of the Hospital; or, in other words, would, as respects its sources of income, be a loss to the Hospital of more than a hundred thousand dollars. To prevent such a contingency, a bill was reported and discussed at the present session of the Legislature, in the words following:—

“Whenever any persons or corporation shall be empowered to make insurance on lives upon land, the right so to do shall be deemed subject to the same obligations for the payment of a certain share of the profit accruing therefrom, to the Massachusetts General Hospital, as are imposed on the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, by the laws now in force, unless express provision to the contrary shall be made in the Act or Acts empowering any such persons or corporation to make such insurance on lives as aforesaid.”

The passage of such a law was, of course, immaterial to the Hospital, if the Legislature, in each particular charter, should continue to insert the same

provisions as had always heretofore been done. To show the importance either of such general or special legislation, the Chairman of the Trustees submitted a memorial to the Legislature, May 5, 1851, stating the exact amount which had been received from the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, but expressing no wish for the passage of any general law. The proposed law was not passed.

The above is a condensed view of all the legislative enactments respecting the Hospital from its foundation to the present time. The Province-house Estate, thus liberally given by the Commonwealth, embraced a tract of land measuring eighty-six feet six inches on Washington, formerly Marlborough street, and extended back two hundred and sixty-seven feet to Governor's Alley or Province-street, where it measured in width seventy-six feet, being about half an acre of land. Stores have now been erected in front on Washington-street; and a block of brick houses, on the northerly side of Province-house Court, stand on the back part of the estate. The old Province House still remains, surmounted by its figure of an Indian, though the days of its glory have departed. In 1796 it had been sold to John Peck for \$16,600, and in 1799 was reconveyed for the same price. At the time of the donation to the Hospital, it was valued at twenty thousand dollars. In the early

accounts of the Hospital (1822), it is estimated as worth forty thousand dollars. It would now probably sell for at least one hundred thousand dollars, independently of all improvements. On April 1, 1817, the Hospital leased this estate to David Greenough, Esq., for ninety-nine years, at an annual rent of two thousand dollars, or an outright sum of thirty-three thousand dollars, at his option; and, on Oct. 1, 1824, he elected to pay this latter sum. The reversion of the estate (to come into possession in A.D. 1916) still remains in the Hospital. Its present value is small. But the Corporation will live for ever; and it is to be hoped that no future Board of Trustees will alienate this, the first donation made to the institution. Rather let it remain to the latest times an enduring monument of the liberality of the Commonwealth, as in times past it was the representative of its official dignity. And, in acknowledgment of this splendid gift, and of the many subsequent benefits derived from the same source, may our institution always preserve unchanged its corporate name of the *Massachusetts General Hospital*!

CHAPTER II.

1813 — 1817.

ORGANIZATION. — TRUSTEES ELECTED, 1813. — LIBERAL SUBSCRIPTIONS. — PURCHASES OF TWO ESTATES. — DEED OF ASYLUM ESTATE, ON CONDITION. — DEFECT OF TITLE IN HOSPITAL ESTATE, BUT CLAIM FAVORABLY COMPROMISED. — ITS GREATLY INCREASED VALUE. — CHOICE OF DR. JAMES JACKSON AND DR. JOHN C. WARREN AS PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON OF HOSPITAL. — LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR WILLIAM PHILLIPS INCREASES HIS FATHER'S GIFT OF FIVE THOUSAND TO TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS. — COMMON SEAL.

A CHARTER had now been obtained, containing a liberal grant, made *on the condition that one hundred thousand dollars more should be subscribed by individuals*. The fifty-six persons named in the Act were the first members of the Corporation. By by-laws, subsequently adopted, all who are specially elected, all who have given one hundred dollars, and all who have served as Trustees, are made members of the Corporation. The first meeting of the Corporation was held on April 23, 1811, — Hon. John Adams, moderator, — at which Richard Sullivan was chosen Secretary, and a Committee appointed to prepare by-laws, which were adopted July 5, as reported by the Committee. They are recorded *in extenso*, occupying ten large folio pages. They have been since

modified as convenience or necessity dictated; and, as a large edition has been printed of the present rules, &c., no analysis of these earlier regulations is thought necessary. At this last meeting, thanks were presented to Josiah Loring for the gift of an elegant record-book. It is still used, and will last fifty years more. Trustees were not chosen till Feb. 2, 1813. The Corporation was organized by a President and Vice-President, Treasurer and Secretary; the Secretary being, *ex officio*, Secretary of the Board of Trustees. At first, the President always attended the meetings of Trustees, and presided; but, since 1818, the Trustees have acted by a Chairman, who presides at all their meetings; the duty of the President or Vice-President being merely to preside at the annual meetings of the Corporation. The earliest record-book of the Trustees is a little volume, of about five inches by eight, of the poorest and cheapest paper and covers, containing a hundred and sixty pages. It forms an amusing contrast with its more brilliant successors. It embraces the period from 1813 to 1817 inclusive. The first Board of Trustees consisted of Messrs. T. H. Perkins, Josiah Quincy, Daniel Sargent, Joseph May, Stephen Higginson, jun., Gamaliel Bradford, Tristram Barnard, George G. Lee, Francis C. Lowell, Joseph Tilden, John L. Sullivan, and Richard Sullivan. Messrs. Quincy, Higginson, Lowell, and Tilden were

chosen by the Board of Visitors; and, of the remaining eight, six were specially elected members of the Corporation, namely, all except Thomas H. Perkins and Richard Sullivan, who were named in the Act of Incorporation. No changes occurred in the Board, until the choice of Jonathan Phillips by the Board of Visitors, in place of Mr. Higginson, in February, 1816; and the choice of John Lowell and Joseph Coolidge, jun., by the same Board, in December of the same year, in place of F. C. Lowell and Joseph Tilden; — the others having resigned. At the first meeting of the Trustees, Feb. 23, 1813, held at the house of Colonel T. H. Perkins, the draft of an address to the public was read, adopted, and ordered to be printed, “with a suitable circular letter to every clergyman in the Commonwealth;” Colonel May and the Secretary being a Committee for that purpose. At the same meeting, Messrs. Barnard and Higginson were appointed a Committee as to selecting a site for the Hospital, either on the Almshouse land (in Leverett-street), or elsewhere. At the next meeting, March 9, the Committee reported unfavorably as to that site, and suggested for consideration the Winthrop Estate in Cambridge, or the made land at bottom of the Common, since known as the Public Garden. A plan was subsequently made of this last estate; and, at a meeting held May 14, several com-

munications from physicians, Drs. Rand, Hayward, Warren, and Dexter (besides a special communication from Drs. Jackson and Warren), recommending it, were received and read; and Messrs. Perkins, Barnard, and Higginson were appointed a Committee to see gentlemen residing near the Common, to obviate objections, if any, to that location. On Nov. 22, the expediency of establishing a temporary Hospital in the Province House was discussed. On Jan. 9, 1814, an address to the public, having been approved by the overseers of the poor, was adopted, and Committees appointed to solicit subscriptions. This address is extant in a pamphlet-form. It is drawn up with great earnestness, and is signed by the whole twelve Trustees. It is published with the following motto:

“As, in some solitude, the summer rill
Refreshes, where it winds, the faded green,
And cheers the drooping flowers, unheard, unseen,
Such is this charity!” &c.

The address shows the urgent need of such an institution for the relief both of sick and insane; that the Almshouse is in its nature a mere asylum for poverty; that indeed “the Almshouse in this metropolis does not pretend to *cure*,” and that “*all it possesses are accommodations for eight patients.*” It then proceeds to show the safeguards as to the management of the proposed institution, — that “its conductors are re-

sponsible to the executive of the Commonwealth and to the subscribers by an annual election ;” that it is designed to be a State establishment, extending its benefits to all ; that, without the aid of all, the condition annexed to the grant of the Commonwealth cannot be complied with. The basis of the subscription is announced to be, that “no sum subscribed shall be demanded, unless, before Jan. 1, 1815, the sum subscribed by individuals to the institution shall amount to at least a hundred thousand dollars.” The Trustees declare, that a liberal endowment at the outset is essential to the reputation, and therefore to the usefulness, of the institution ; and they conclude with the following paragraph : —

“ Besides, the undersigned are willing to confess, that they are not ambitious of being the guardians of a charity *merely nominal*. They are satisfied, that the sum, affixed by the Legislature as the condition of its grant, is so small, when compared with the wealth of individuals and the greatness of the State, that no plea, arising from ‘the hardship of the times,’ ‘the general embarrassment of affairs,’ or ‘the claims of other charities,’ can or ought to avail the community. If such a proposal as this fail, it will be, in the judgment of the undersigned, decisive of the fate of the establishment. It will then be apparent, that *the will is wanting* in the public to patronize such an undertaking ; and that the honor of laying the foundation of a fabric of charity so noble and majestic must be left for times when a higher cast of character predominates, and to a more enlightened and sympathetic race of men.”

On May 18, 1814, a communication from Dr. George Parkman was received as to a Hospital for the Insane, proposed to be erected by him for accommodation of such patients as shall be able to pay their own expenses. On Jan. 18, 1815, the proposed subscriptions were suspended. March 10, 1816, Messrs. Quincy, Tilden, and J. L. Sullivan were appointed a Committee on the subject of granting annuities, who reported at the next meeting. On March 25, a Committee was appointed to see if the estate of Jonathan Merry, near the North Church, can be purchased. Messrs. Quincy and J. L. Sullivan were appointed a Committee to draft a new address to the public. Colonel May was directed to confer with Dr. Bowditch, of Salem, respecting annuity tables, and the comparative duration of life in this country and Europe, &c.

On April 14, the address was ordered to be printed in pamphlet-form; and, on April 21, a thousand copies of it were directed to be prepared for distribution. This second address is also extant. It is very short. It refers to the former one two years before, and states, that, owing to a modification in the terms of the gift of the Province House, the Board is ready to receive subscriptions, independently of any specific amount to be raised within any prescribed period; also that, to meet thè existing diversity of views, subscriptions would be received generally or specially

for either department of the proposed institution, and the sums subscribed be faithfully applied as requested. Appended to this address are letters directed to members of the Board, detailing circumstances showing the urgent need of such an institution. The Board resolved itself, at this last meeting, into Subcommittees for subscriptions: Colonel Perkins and Captain Barnard to call on all whose names begin with A, B, C. The remaining letters of the alphabet were distributed as follows: To Messrs. May and Phillips, D, E, F, G; Messrs. Sargent and Lowell, H to L; Messrs. Quincy and Lee, M to R; Messrs. Tilden and J. L. Sullivan, S to Z.

On April 15, 1816, authority was given to buy the Merry Estate at twelve thousand dollars. This estate was situate at corner of Salem and Charter street, and formerly belonged to Sir William Phipps. It was not purchased by the Hospital, but was subsequently (in 1820) bought by the Boys' Asylum. On April 28, a Committee was appointed to devise a plan of obtaining contributions from all the towns in the Commonwealth, who, on May 5, reported an address to individuals resident in such towns; of which six hundred copies were ordered. I have not seen any copy of this circular letter.

On Oct. 4, 1816, a communication from Dr. George Parkman was received, to the effect that the Magee

Place and sixteen acres of land in Roxbury can be had for sixteen thousand dollars. "If the institution will pay five thousand dollars, *he will procure to be given to this institution the remaining eleven thousand.*" This proposal was accepted; a Committee appointed to complete the purchase; and Dr. Parkman was appointed Superintending Physician of said institution, "whenever the Magee Place shall be purchased, as provided in the preceding vote." At the foot of the page is the following memorandum: "The Board subsequently considered that it was inexpedient to purchase the Magee Place." Dr. Parkman, as I learn, then had a private institution for the insane on this estate, which is the same since occupied by the widow of Governor Eustis. Of the eleven thousand dollars promised by him, ten thousand was the amount agreed to be subscribed by friends of the institution, who at his solicitation were willing that their intended donations should be applied to this purchase. It was not, as the Board apparently supposed, a new donation of Dr. Parkman.

Dec. 15, 1816, Messrs. Lowell, Quincy, and Barnard were appointed a Committee to contract with B. Joy, Esq. for the purchase of the Barrell Place (or Joy Estate at Charlestown), to be paid for as soon as the state of the funds shall admit of it. A renewed attempt was also made to get the land west

of the Almshouse for a Hospital. On Dec. 17, the Humane Society subscribed five thousand dollars for the Insane Hospital, and a suitable vote of thanks was passed. On Dec. 18, the Board decided to purchase part of Mr. Joy's land. Dec. 20, the several Ward Committees for collecting subscriptions were appointed, and were requested to commence proceedings on the 26th instant.* Mr. Lowell was appointed a Committee to prepare an address to the public. This address is drawn up with the characteristic fervor of the writer. It is a pamphlet of eight pages. It is signed by eleven Trustees; all except Mr. Lee, who, it is believed, had recently died. It shows that private charity cannot meet the evils which this public institution is designed to remedy. It announces the purchase of the Joy Estate as completed, of which

* The following gentlemen composed these Ward Committees, viz. : —

WARDS 1, 2, 3. — Dr. Webster, Dr. E. Eliot, N. Webb, Esq., Gedney King, Henry K. May.

WARDS 4 and 5. — Joseph Coolidge, jun. Esq., William Mackay, Edward Tuckerman, jun., R. G. Shaw, Lynde Walter, John Osborn, George [W.] Lyman, Abraham Touro.

WARDS 6 and 7. — Thomas Bartlett, Esq., Daniel Davis, Esq., Edmund Dwight, Gideon Snow, Nathan Appleton, Ebenezer Farley, E. Motley, Geo. Sullivan, James Prince, John Mackay, Thomas W. Sumner.

WARDS 8 and 9. — Joseph Tilden, Esq., Joseph May, John Tappan, Benjamin Russell, Josiah Bradlee, Francis Welch, Israel Munson, Samuel Parkman, jun.

WARD 10. — David S. Greenough, Benjamin Rich, George Trott, William Sturgis, William Ropes, Lewis Tappan.

WARD 11 and 12. — Samuel May, Benjamin West, Joshua Davis, Josiah Richards, John D. Williams, William Brown.

it remarks: "The situation selected appears to unite every practicable advantage; we should almost say, the irreconcilable ones of propinquity and distance, being scarcely separated from the town by water, while its peninsular situation places it at the most desirable distance." It also adds, that the Trustees have "procured a grant of land west of the Almshouse [on Leverett-street], upon which they have voted to erect the General Hospital, as soon as the moneys, which they flatter themselves will be readily subscribed, shall have been collected."

On Dec. 29, the Ward Committees met with the Board of Trustees, and reported *that in three days the subscriptions were \$78,802*. Committees for the towns of Salem, Beverly, New Bedford, Plymouth, Charlestown, Medford, Cambridge, Roxbury, and Newburyport,* were also appointed. Charles Bul-

* COMMITTEE FOR SALEM. — Hon. Benjamin Pickman, Hon. Joseph Story, N. Silsbee, Joseph Peabody, N. Bowditch, Nathaniel West, John Pickering, Dudley L. Pickman, Pickering Dodge, and Ezekiel Savage, Esqrs.

FOR BEVERLY. — Dr. Fisher, Hon. T. Stevens, Moses Brown, Esq.

FOR NEW BEDFORD. — Wm. Rotch, jun., Samuel Rodman, James Arnold, Seth Russell, jun., Joseph Ricketson, John A. Parker, And. Robeson, Esqs.

FOR PLYMOUTH. — Hon. Joshua Thomas, Wm. Davis, Barnabas Hedge, Henry Warren, Esqs.

FOR CHARLESTOWN. — Hon. Josiah Bartlett, Joseph Hurd, Nathan Adams, Nathan Bridge, Ebenezer Breed, William Austin, Timothy Walker, Samuel Jaques, Seth Knowles, Nathaniel Austin, Esqrs.

FOR MEDFORD. — William Ward, Abraham Touro, Dudley Hall, Isaac Brooks, E. Hall, Nathaniel Hall, Esqs.

FOR CAMBRIDGE. — James Winthrop, L. Baldwin, A. Bigelow, S. Bartlett, S. P. P. Fay, Tim. Fuller, Esqs.; and Messrs. Hayden and Merriam.

finch, Esq., was employed to visit the Hospitals of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Meetings now began to be held at the Athenæum, having before been held at the houses of the officers.

In 1817, Ebenezer Francis and David Sears became Trustees, in place of George G. Lee and John L. Sullivan. On Jan. 5, the subscriptions had increased to \$93,969. Authority was given to purchase more of Mr. Joy's land, not exceeding in all fifteen acres, or to cost over fifteen thousand dollars. The Hon. John Phillips was requested to examine the title. On Jan. 12, the Committee reported a purchase from Mr. Joy for \$15,650; and the Board approved of their Committee's act, though they had somewhat exceeded their powers; and Mr. Lowell, with Mr. Phillips, was appointed a Committee to procure the deed. Jan. 19, a salary was given to the Secretary of a hundred dollars. At the annual meeting of the Corporation, Jan. 21, Richard Sullivan declined a re-election as Secretary, and was thanked for his services. On Jan. 26, a letter was received from Hon. Benjamin Pickman, recommending a physician of the Asylum. This was a

FOR ROXBURY. — General H. A. S. Dearborn, Thos. Williams, W. Bosson, Charles Davis, George Zeigler, D. S. Greenough, Esqs., and Captain Charles Curtis.

FOR NEWBURYPORT. — William Bartlett, Moses Brown, J. B. Bannister, John Pettingil, Abner Wood, William Woart, Esqs.

most important communication, as the nominee was Dr. Rufus Wyman; and, coming from one of so high standing, and who had had especial opportunities of learning Dr. Wyman's eminent qualifications, it had great weight. A final vote of thanks to the Ward Committees for their services in obtaining subscriptions was passed at this meeting.

Feb. 2, 1817, an address to the public was adopted to obviate an impression that the Insane Hospital was designed exclusively for the wealthy. I have not seen a copy of this document. On Feb. 16, Messrs. Lowell, Quincy, Francis, and Barnard, a Committee of the Board, with Nathaniel Bowditch, Francis C. Lowell, and Peter C. Brooks, not of the Board, were requested to consider the expediency of and to report a plan for the granting of annuities. Feb. 23, thanks were given to Mr. Phillips for his services in examining the title of the Joy Estate. Public notice was ordered that all subscriptions were payable on March 1. It was also stated that the Province House had been leased at public auction for ninety-nine years. March 2, Messrs. Lowell, Barnard, and Quincy were appointed a Committee to select a site for a Hospital on the town's land near Almshouse, or elsewhere. Mr. Bulfinch presented a written report on his visits to other Hospitals. March 9, the Treasurer was invited to attend all the meetings. Public

notice was ordered on selection of superintendent for Asylum. The Committee on the subject of granting annuities reported against the measure. On March 16, 1817, the deed of Benjamin Joy was produced, and the Secretary ordered to buy a tin case to keep it in. It is still extant, and used for holding the title-deeds. Mr. Bulfinch presented a ground-plan for an Insane Hospital. The Committee, on March 23, reported that they had examined several sites, and were pleased with one in North Allen-street, and arranged that the Board should visit it. Mr. Lowell reported the rules and regulations for an Insane Asylum. Dr. George Parkman offered himself as candidate for physician of that institution; whose communication, with a model and several documents, was placed on file. Charles Bulfinch sent in a plan for a General Hospital. March 30, each Trustee approved of the site in Allen-street. The Committee were authorized to buy it at not over twenty thousand dollars, provided the title be good, and the street now laid out through the same be discontinued. If it could not be had on these terms, they were to apply for land west of the Almshouse. April 6, Drs. Samuel Danforth, Isaac Rand, John Jeffries, Lemuel Hayward, David Townsend, Thos. Welsh, Aaron Dexter, and Wm. Spooner, were chosen consulting physicians; Dr. James Jackson, acting physician; Dr. John C.

Warren, acting surgeon. Dr. Jackson, in the office of consulting physician, continues to manifest an undiminished interest in the prosperity of the institution. Dr. Warren, after thirty-four years, yet holds his office. He bears lightly the age of more than "three-score and ten," and, like England's "Iron Duke," is still at his post of duty and of honor.

April 20, 1817, Messrs. Lowell, Francis, and Quincy were instructed to prepare alterations and additions to the by-laws. A letter from Hon. William Phillips announced his readiness to pay his subscription of twenty thousand dollars, as soon as the town would discharge him, as executor of his father's will, from the five thousand dollars given thereby. On May 4, the Committee for building an Asylum reported in favor of two wings or buildings, seventy-six feet by forty, three stories high instead of one, and of brick instead of stone. Authority was given to buy the Allen-street Estate at twenty thousand dollars, if the offer should be accepted in six days. On May 7, a Corporation meeting was held, at which rules and regulations were adopted for the Asylum for the Insane, which, as recorded, occupy ten large folio pages. At a Trustees' meeting, June 12, a letter from Mr. Quincy was received, with a written report from Benjamin Gorham, Esq., as to an uncertainty or defect in the title; and he was authorized to consult



ENGRAVED BY T. B. WELCH, PHILA. FROM A LARGER TYPE BY JOHN A. WHIFFLE, BOSTON.

JOHN C. WARREN.

John C. Warren —

Professor of Anatomy & Surgery.

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Hon. William Prescott. July 14, Messrs. Francis and Sears were added to this Committee with instructions; and, on Aug. 4, they were requested to apply to the city of Boston to close any streets which may pass through the land. Aug. 25, the Committee reported that they were informed that the street had not been legally laid out, and could be closed at any time; and they were authorized to buy the estate at a price not exceeding twenty-three thousand dollars. On Oct. 6, after various delays and negotiations, the Committee reported "the Allen-street purchase as substantially complete." Oct. 27, a Committee was appointed to apply to the selectmen to discontinue Bridge-street, laid out through this estate. Nov. 3, the Committee reported the draft of an advertisement, offering a hundred dollars' reward for a plan of a Hospital; also a circular letter to all the ministers of the gospel in the Commonwealth.

Nov. 24, a common seal was ordered to be prepared; and, on Nov. 30, Colonel May laid it before the Board, — the device being an Indian with his bow in one hand, and an arrow in the other; and on his right a star, being encircled with the inscription, "MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL, 1811;" and it was accepted accordingly. Dec. 7, it was ordered that the Hospital be "of stone, and *of that kind called granite.*" Jan. 4, 1818, several plans were received

by the Board; and, on Jan. 11, referred to Messrs. Lowell, Quincy, and Francis.

The result of this period, then, was that subscriptions were secured to the amount required by the condition of the charter, and the estates were purchased where the two departments of the institution are now situated. The subscriptions had been extremely generous. William Phillips, as we have seen, increased his father's legacy of five thousand dollars to the sum of twenty thousand. The importance of this donation can hardly be over-estimated. It encouraged the friends of the project, and awakened a corresponding liberality in others. It is not too much to say, that it was the one circumstance which ensured the success of the undertaking. The Humane Society gave five thousand dollars; Messrs. James Perkins, Thomas H. Perkins, and David Sears, each gave the same sum.

There were in all one thousand and forty-seven subscribers, residing in Boston, Salem, Plymouth, Charlestown, Hingham, and Chelsea (including a few residents elsewhere); and 245 of this number, by giving one hundred dollars and upwards, became members of the Corporation. Several subscribed exclusively for the Hospital, and several exclusively for the Asylum, and some for both; and the amount actually expended on each separate branch of the

institution subsequently exceeded the sum thus specially appropriated ; so that the wishes of each donor have been complied with. A donation-book, prepared in 1828 by Colonel Joseph May, includes these subscriptions, and some subsequent ones, making in all the truly magnificent total of more than a hundred and forty thousand dollars.

The purchase of the Charlestown Estate was encumbered with divers conditions and provisions, a strict compliance with which is of the utmost importance. It is to be regretted that Mr. Joy should have deemed it necessary, for the adequate protection of his remaining adjoining estate, to impose these restrictions ; *and it is unfortunate that the Committee should have accepted a deed with a condition capable of working, in any possible event, a forfeiture of the estate.* The lot is about five hundred feet wide by sixteen hundred feet in length, extending to the water, with the flats appurtenant. Upon it stood a dwelling-house, built by Joseph Barrell, Esq., a former owner, and which has been since enlarged and altered, and is now used as the residence for the Physician and the Superintendent and their families. The two brick wings at first erected have since been enlarged by additions of the parts surmounted by domes, and constitute the present buildings used for the male and the female patients. The Building Committee, during

this period, devoted much time and attention to the erection of these first edifices ; Mr. Francis visited the Hospitals of New York and Philadelphia. It was thought desirable that they should each communicate with the dwelling-house, and also that they should be as distant from each other as possible. They are therefore placed at diverging lines, which rendered the subsequent addition of the parts surmounted by domes extremely awkward ; it being found impossible to continue them in the same direction, without interfering with the mansion-house. Mr. Barrell had planted two fine rows of elms, ranging from his mansion-house in the direction of the old wards. All of them were subsequently cut down at the suggestion of Dr. Wyman. It was once remarked in my hearing, that the buildings were erected to accommodate the trees, and then the trees cut down to accommodate the buildings. The ground falls off so rapidly that these wards are entered at the second story ; and there are in them so many dark passages, so many ascents and descents, and so many turnings and twistings, that, should the oldest Trustee of the institution be suddenly left alone during a visit, he would probably be puzzled to know exactly where he was, or by what means he could best escape from the labyrinth around him.

The purchase of the land in Boston had been

attended with great difficulties, and was a most fortunate arrangement for the institution. The five thousand dollars bequeathed by Mr. Phillips required that the Hospital should be within the limits of Boston, and would have been unavailable if the original requirement of the charter in that respect had not been repealed. Negotiations for the purchase of this estate were opened with James S. Colburn, Esq., acting for the Prince heirs, who were supposed to be sole owners; and he once or twice increased the price which he had originally demanded. It was then ascertained that certain others (heirs of the Wells family) had an interest which must be extinguished. A street which had been laid out for the benefit of the Canal Bridge, in continuation of Bridge-street, and respecting the laying-out of which some informality had been discovered, was shut up. And still there remained a serious objection, that part of the land had been set off on execution in 1781, on a judgment for £741, against one Hezekiah Blanchard; the sheriff making a general return, that the appraisers were *appointed according to law*, instead of stating specially which of them was chosen by the creditor, debtor, and sheriff respectively. The land was appraised at only about half of the debt (£430). The debtor was for years afterwards supported by the creditor, and died a pauper, and was buried at his expense. Strong

as was the equity of the case, the legal title of this lot (making an important part of the estate) was bad. Mr. Lowell, an excellent lawyer and a most influential member of the Committee, was opposed to completing the purchase, on the ground of this objection. Messrs. Francis, Quincy, and others of the Committee, were willing to take the risk. Mr. Lowell left for Europe, and his colleagues decided to buy. It is an interesting circumstance, that, just before the end of the forty years allowed by law, Charles G. Loring, Esq., was employed to institute a suit for Benjamin Gray and his sister, as the heirs of the old owner; which was favorably compromised, in part doubtless through Mr. Loring's good offices; the Hospital paying five hundred dollars, and an intervening warrantor paying five hundred more. This same demandant subsequently recovered an estate in Atkinson-street for breach of condition, under circumstances so inequitable, that the suit, as reported in the books (*Gray v. Blanchard*), is known as *the atrocious case*; and the Court avowed that they intentionally postponed giving their opinion, in hopes that the delay would have led to a compromise. Mr. Gray knew no higher standard of right or of duty than "the statute in such case made and provided." He at first refused to accept the Hospital's offer of one thousand dollars. The case was opened to the jury; and Benjamin

Gorham, Esq., counsel for the Hospital, began to exhibit him in so unenviable a light, that he intimated his readiness to take the sum offered. The case was thereupon withdrawn from the jury. But for this arrangement, the Hospital would have been put to great inconvenience, if not loss. This possible consequence certainly goes far to justify Mr. Lowell's objections, while the actual result fully warrants the decision of his associates.

This estate, independently of improvements, is now probably worth at least about three hundred thousand dollars. It cost less than a twelfth of that sum.

CHAPTER III.

1818—1822.

THOMAS H. PERKINS, CHAIRMAN. — DR. RUFUS WYMAN CHOSEN PHYSICIAN OF ASYLUM. — CORNER-STONE OF HOSPITAL LAID JULY 4, 1818. — TAX ON LICENSES ASKED FOR. — COLONEL MAY, CHAIRMAN. — ADDRESS BY RICHARD SULLIVAN, 1819. — CAPUCHIN CHAPEL. — DEATH OF JAMES PRINCE, TREASURER. — ELECTION AND DEATH OF WILLIAM COCHRAN. — ELECTION OF N. P. RUSSELL. — DEATH OF JAMES PERKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT. — TOLLS ON CANAL BRIDGE. — NATHANIEL FLETCHER, SUPERINTENDENT OF HOSPITAL. — FIRST PATIENT, SEPT. 3, 1821. — BEQUESTS OF THOMAS OLIVER, SAMUEL ELIOT, BEZA TUCKER, &c. — DONATION OF HORACE GRAY, &c. — ADDRESS TO PUBLIC, 1822. — STATE OF FINANCES, &c.

IN 1818, the same Board of Trustees were re-elected; and at their first meeting, Jan. 25, Thomas H. Perkins was chosen Chairman. The Committee reported that the plan of a Hospital by Mr. Bulfinch deserved the premium; and the President and Vice-President were asked to attend at the next meeting, and give their advice as to the erecting at present a centre building and one wing. Messrs. William Phillips and James Perkins attended accordingly, Jan. 28, and signified their approval of this measure. On Feb. 1, Mr. Bulfinch's plan (with slight modifications suggested by the Committee) was adopted, and immediate measures were directed for getting stone hammered at the State Prison. A Committee was appointed to

inquire as to insurance on the Asylum buildings, and also as to the powers of granting annuities. The Committee on this last subject reported on Feb. 15. Messrs. Lowell and Francis were appointed, March 1, to engage a person to superintend the erection of the Hospital. March 3, the Building Committee at the Asylum was ordered to have a foot bridge constructed over the creek, in place of one recently destroyed by ice. Insurance against fire was ordered to the amount of ten thousand dollars. March 15, the Board decided that it is expedient to unite in one person the offices of Physician and Superintendent of the Asylum. March 22, it appeared that the Physicians and Surgeons of the Hospital recommended Dr. Rufus Wyman (Dr. George Parkman having withdrawn his application for that office); and he was nominated accordingly. Mr. Francis was appointed a Committee for erecting a wharf at the Hospital grounds. On March 23, Dr. Wyman was unanimously elected, and was authorized to visit New York and Philadelphia. March 29, the heirs of Hezekiah Blanchard made their claim for part of the Hospital land. On June 2, Dr. Wyman, having returned from his tour, made a verbal report. Messrs. Francis and Lowell, and the Treasurer, were appointed the Building Committee of the Hospital.

On July 1, the Treasurer, and Messrs. May and

Francis, were appointed a Committee to cause the corner-stone of the Hospital to be laid on July 4; and Mr. Quincy was requested to deliver the address on that occasion.

“On Saturday, the 4th day of July, the corner-stone of the Hospital in North Allen-street, in pursuance of the vote of the Trustees, was laid in Masonic form by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, in presence of his Excellency the Governor, his Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, the Honorable Council, many charitable societies, the Selectmen and Board of Health of the town of Boston, the members of the Corporation of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and a great concourse of citizens, who assembled to witness the ceremony.

“Under the stone was placed, in addition to a number of coins, a silver plate or tablet, whereon was engraved the following inscription:—

“The Corner-stone of this Edifice,

DESIGNED AS A GENERAL HOSPITAL, FOUNDED BY THE MUNIFICENCE OF THE
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, AND OF MANY OF ITS LIBERAL
CITIZENS, WAS LAID AT THE REQUEST OF THE TRUSTEES
OF THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL,
BY THE GRAND LODGE OF
MASSACHUSETTS,

FRANCIS J. OLIVER, Esq. Grand Master.

His Excellency JOHN BROOKS, Governor.

His Honor WILLIAM PHILLIPS, Lieut.-Governor, President of said Corporation, and a most
munificent donor.

The Municipal and Military Officers of Boston assisting at the Ceremonies;

THIS FOURTH DAY OF JULY, A.D. MDCCCXVIII. AND OF THE INDEPENDENCE
OF THE UNITED STATES, XLIII.

ANNO LUCIS, 5318.”

The address of Mr. Quincy was in every respect eminently appropriate to the occasion. It was as follows:—

“May it please your Excellency;—Gentlemen of the Masonic, Gentlemen of the Mechanic, Associations;—Fellow-citizens:—I am requested by the Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital to express to you, Sir,—to the officers and members of these respectable fraternities,—and to our fellow-citizens in general, their congratulations on this interesting occasion. You and they will be pleased to accept the thanks of the Trustees for the countenance and aid you have given this institution, by thus condescending to assist in laying its foundations, according to the rules of art, and with those solemn and mysterious forms and ceremonies which ancient wisdom has prescribed.

“Indeed, Sir and Gentlemen, the foundations of a noble charity have this day been laid;—a charity, destined to confer lasting blessings on future times, as it has already conferred immortal honor on the present;—a charity, of which it well becomes a citizen of Massachusetts to speak in the language of pride and exultation. For of what can the patriot be more justly proud than of witnessing in a community virtuous principles, emanating in generous efforts, and generous efforts crowned with resplendent success? When can exultation be more natural or suitable than on beholding the seed, which the common labor of the community has scattered, upspringing from the soil, bearing on its trunk and on its branches the pregnant promise of fruit and shade?

“In reference to this institution, it has been the happiness of the Trustees to witness among their fellow-citizens a zeal co-operating with its design and patronizing its estab-

lishment, as laudable as it has been exemplary, and not less encouraging than it has been honorable. They have seen individuals distinguished at once for wealth and liberality, surpassing all former records of benevolence in this country, and subscribing to their funds sums which in point of amount have seldom been equalled by individual subscription in any country, on any occasion. They have seen all classes of their citizens combining and concentrating their efforts, and the irresistible force of public opinion applied, not, as has happened in other countries, to destroy, but to found and erect institutions destined to be the refuge of the afflicted; and to provide relief and extend protection to those who labor under the most awful and humiliating misfortunes to which man is subject.

“These are efforts, of which he who loves his country may justly be proud. These are objects which the eye of the philanthropist delights to contemplate. These are scenes, amid which virtue and piety rejoice to dwell. These are honors which eloquence and history will not cease to celebrate, long after every other memorial of the present generation shall have passed away.

“But, may it please your Excellency, it ought not to be concealed on the present occasion, that, notwithstanding the donations on which this charity has been founded are great, yet that the necessities of the unfortunate and of this institution are still greater. It belongs to the occasion to state, that the funds already placed at the disposal of the Trustees will scarcely more than suffice to enable them to complete the Asylum for the Insane, and also two principal parts of the building destined for the General Hospital; leaving it to the sympathy of the Legislature and of the community to provide for the completion of the remaining third part of the building, and for the annual support of the establishment.

“ Encouraged by the liberality and favor already displayed by their fellow-citizens and by the Legislature of the Commonwealth, and anxious, on their part, to fulfil the duties imposed on them in the spirit which the munificence of the public seemed to justify and to demand, the Trustees have deemed themselves compelled to commence their institution upon a scale and on a system coinciding less with the immediate state of the funds, than with the anticipated exigencies of society; assured that the liberality of the State and of individuals will not fail to complete an undertaking commenced under such honorable and happy auspices; relying that every want which shall occur will be supplied, as well from the interesting and commanding nature of all the charities concentrated in their institution, as from the just and deep sympathies for its success which prevail in the community.

“ To that sympathy, to the same noble and elevated sentiment, to which we are indebted for its conception, and, thus far, for its establishment, we confidently rely for its future support.

“ To you, Sir, as the head and representative of this great Commonwealth,—to our fellow-citizens at large,—to all the wise, the liberal, the virtuous, and pious men of our country, we cheerfully commit its destinies; asking only of them, and of the Legislature of the Commonwealth, that the same munificent spirit which founded, may still preside over it, that it may thus be enabled to develop all its usefulness, and continue to be, what it now is, a monument of the wisdom, the liberality and humanity of the rulers and citizens of Massachusetts.”

The ceremonies were concluded by the following remarks from James Prince, Esq., the Treasurer of the institution:—

"Fellow-citizens,—The purposes for which we have assembled being accomplished, the moment of our separation from this now interesting spot has arrived. Let us, however, under those impressions which the occasion so forcibly inspires, in retiring, turn our thoughts from earth to heaven, and again implore the God and Father of all graciously to permit the top-stone of this intended edifice to be laid in love, in order, and without accident, as at this beginning; and to bestow the choicest of his blessings upon all those who have been, or who hereafter may be, donors to this humane establishment, not only in this world, but in that which is to come. Amen."

His Excellency, the Trustees, and other invited guests, then proceeded to the house of the Treasurer, Mr. Prince, and partook of a collation. The attendance was very numerous. Those who could not get into the house were accommodated in the garden. It was a scene of joyous festivity. "It was a great day," said one who was present, "for Marshal Prince," as it certainly was for the institution. Like the Union, with whose birth-day its foundation is thus associated, may its benefits be ever more and more widely felt; and may it continue to the latest times to afford its protection, and extend its welcome alike to the citizen and to the stranger who cometh among us!

On July 3, 1818, Mr. Head, one of the executors of Thomas Oliver, of Boston, merchant, announced that he had made this institution his residuary devisee. This bequest was gratefully accepted by the Trustees;

and Messrs. Lowell and Francis were appointed a Committee on the subject.

This legacy exceeded twenty-four thousand dollars. A portrait of Mr. Oliver was subsequently given, which was placed in the Trustees' room at the Hospital. The institution is especially indebted to Mr. Head for this bequest, as the testator wished to bestow his property on him and his family; and it was solely in consequence of his truly disinterested advice, that Mr. Oliver made the Hospital the object of his bounty, after his wife's decease. The widow married again, and lived till July, 1835, enjoying till her death the income or interest of the estate. The Hospital received the property in 1826, and paid her from that time an annuity of thirteen hundred dollars.

On July 13, thanks were voted to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts for their assistance at the ceremonies of the laying of the corner-stone. Sept. 1, Mr. Francis was appointed a Committee to advise with the Treasurer respecting the disposal of the funds. Detailed rules were adopted for admission of patients at the Asylum, and ordered to be printed. On Sept. 8, further rules and regulations for the general government of the Asylum were adopted. The Committee on Mr. Oliver's bequest reported that his widow is to have all the property, real and personal, for life; and consented to the immediate sale of land in Middle-street

and Prince-street devised by him. On Sept. 15, 1818, Visiting Committees were arranged, each to be of three members, and to serve for three months ; Messrs. Sullivan, Sargent, and Francis being the Committee for the next ensuing months of October, November, and December. Sept. 19, the Treasurer was authorized to borrow ten thousand dollars. Oct. 27, he was ordered, on account of the straitened means of the institution, to call in all debts due for subscriptions or otherwise. Nov. 15, the Visiting Committee were directed to hasten the delivery of the stone from State Prison, "that the roof of the Hospital may be covered in as soon as possible."

Nov. 23, the Visiting Committee report nine patients received at Asylum. Mr. Francis states that he well remembers the admission of the first patient. A father asked to have his son received as an inmate ; and the Committee spent three hours in conversing with him, in order to learn all the particulars of the case. He informed them that he believed his son to be one of those spoken of in the Bible as "possessed with a devil ;" and, when asked what remedial measures he had adopted, replied that he was in the habit of whipping him. The young man was entirely cured, and became subsequently a pedlar, in which vocation he displayed so much Yankee shrewdness, that he acquired a property of ten or twelve thousand dollars.

Three hours' deliberation on the admission of each patient would hardly be found practicable in these later times, when the institution numbers two hundred inmates. The Trustees, however, always scrupulously require a medical certificate as to the fact of insanity.

Dec. 20, voted that Messrs. Lowell, Quincy, and Coolidge be a Committee to wait on James Prince, Esq., Treasurer of the Corporation, to express the regret of this Board at learning his intention to resign, "their unanimous sense of his very able and zealous services," and their wish that he would consent to serve at least another year. With this request he complied, and remained in office till his death. The temperance reform had not as yet commenced, and a Committee was appointed to ask for a grant of "a tax on licenses to sell spirituous liquors." The Board of Visitors made a visit to the Asylum, by invitation of the Trustees, and are reported to the Board as having "expressed much satisfaction at the promising state of the institution." Messrs. Lowell and Quincy were appointed a Committee to confer with the Lechmere Point Corporation, on the subject of the "officers of the Hospital being permitted to pass their bridge free of toll." Dec. 27, the Treasurer furnished "a very judicious plan for keeping the accounts of the Asylum." Jan. 3, 1819, a Committee of five was appointed to

get the signatures of individuals to the petition for a tax on licenses. Jan. 24, 1819, the Treasurer reported that he had borrowed a further sum of eleven hundred dollars, and was authorized to borrow five thousand more.

At the annual meeting, Jan. 19, Peter C. Brooks was elected a Trustee in place of Thomas H. Perkins, Esq.; but declined serving. The thanks of the Corporation were presented to Colonel Perkins for his long and faithful services as Trustee. At this annual meeting, Mr. Francis, as Chairman of the Committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts, reported the property of the institution, exclusive of the Province House, at \$4,188, "which would be far short of the sum necessary to complete the buildings." A Committee of seven was appointed to procure subscriptions for an historical picture, to be painted by Mr. Allston, and to be the property of the Hospital. [No such picture was ever painted.] Jan. 31, Colonel May was elected Chairman of the Trustees. Feb. 21, the town of Concord was thanked for its liberal donation. Feb. 28, Dr. Wyman's salary was fixed at fifteen hundred dollars. March 21, Mr. Francis was appointed a Committee to ascertain the cost of finishing the Hospital; and Messrs. Lowell, Sullivan, and Francis were appointed a Committee to arrange a plan for laying out the grounds at the Asylum. April 2,

reports were presented of a very favorable character as to Dr. Wyman, and stating that his assistants had behaved "with all due humanity and attention." The whole number of patients was stated to be six females, nine males. April 4, the Acting Physician and Surgeon were re-elected. Of the eight Consulting Physicians, the only change was the election of Dr. James Mann, in place of Dr. Danforth, (who, it is believed, was dead). April 11, Mr. Francis reported that \$4,557.43 would finish the Hospital in a plain, simple style.

It was voted to apply to the Canal Bridge, "requesting such an extension of their order, as that the Trustees, Physicians, and all persons actually employed in the Asylum, when passing the bridge on the business of said institution, shall pass the same free of toll." May 2, the Treasurer was authorized to raise a sufficient sum to pay off the debts of the Corporation, by obtaining a loan, &c. May 18, a Committee was appointed to make arrangements for a public address to be delivered during the session of Legislature, on the progress and present state of the institution. A vote of the Directors of the Canal Bridge, relative to payment of toll by officers of the Asylum, was read and placed on file. It granted the privilege asked for, which accordingly has ever since been enjoyed, though of late years called in question.

June 1, 1819, the Committee reported that Thursday next, at 4 o'clock, was appointed for the delivery of an address by Richard Sullivan, Esq.; and that the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Council, Senate, and House of Representatives, had been invited to attend.

“On Thursday, June 3, the Trustees assembled at State House, where a procession was formed, consisting of the Civil Government of the Commonwealth, the Board of Visitors, Corporation, Trustees, Physicians, and Surgeons of the institution, reverend clergy and citizens; who proceeded to King's Chapel, where, after appropriate prayers by Rev. Dr. James Freeman, and music by a select choir of amateurs, an elegant, feeling, and persuasive address was delivered by Richard Sullivan, Esq., on the utility and progress of the combined institution.”

This address was published by order of the Trustees, and forms a pamphlet of twenty-one pages, containing, in an appendix of eleven pages, letters of physicians, &c., some of which had been published with the address of 1816.

July 1, Tristram Barnard having resigned, and Mr. Brooks declined, Joseph Head and Thomas W. Ward were elected by the Trustees to fill these vacancies. Thanks were presented to Mr. William H. Lane for the present of a mahogany medicine case, valued at two hundred dollars. July 6, a very cordial vote of thanks was passed, and ordered to be sent

to Mr. Barnard. Depositions, in perpetuance of Mr. Prince and his sister Mrs. Tucker, were ordered to be taken as to the Allen-street Estate. Aug. 17, an invoice of medicines and shop-furniture (\$111.20) was presented by Dr. Wyman, and suitably acknowledged. Oct. 7, the Treasurer was authorized to borrow one thousand dollars from Mr. Head, and five hundred each from Mr. Francis and Mr. Coolidge; and a Committee was appointed to solicit new subscriptions.

Oct. 19, David Sears resigned; and, on Nov. 2, Samuel Appleton was elected in his stead. The Committee on subscriptions reported an address to the public, which was ordered to be printed. I have not seen a copy of this document. A bequest of four hundred dollars from Polly Russell, of Charlestown, is credited on the Treasurer's books. In November, the Treasurer was authorized to obtain a loan of six thousand dollars. Dec. 19, the Committee for subscriptions reported that "their success had been satisfactory." Benjamin Wiggin, Esq. offered a celebrated picture, "The Capuchin Chapel," to be exhibited for benefit of the Hospital, and was thanked for "his very generous offer." Jan. 6, 1820, Mr. William Hall presented "his patent for sweeping chimneys," to be used in the Hospital.

Jan. 23, the same Board of Trustees were re-elected on the part of the Corporation. Jan. 30, the munifi-

cent bequest of Mr. Samuel Eliot, of ten thousand dollars, for the use of the Asylum, was communicated by Mr. Lowell, one of the executors. Feb. 6, Messrs. Head and Francis made a detailed report on the accounts kept at the Asylum, recommending the employment of a person to post the books. On Feb. 20, John Belknap was elected a Trustee by the Board of Visitors, in place of Hon. John Lowell, resigned. March 19, a proposition to endeavor to effect a loan for finishing the Hospital was discussed. April 9, the Treasurer and Messrs. Francis and Coolidge were appointed a Committee "to proceed in finishing the Hospital." On April 18, a formal announcement of Mr. Eliot's bequest, and of the executor's readiness to pay the same, was received; and the donation was gratefully accepted by the Trustees. In amount it was surpassed only by the gifts of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Oliver. At this meeting a Committee was also appointed to thank Mr. Wiggin for the \$1,604, net proceeds of the exhibition of his picture.

May 2, Mr. Francis reported that the Committee had engaged workmen, procured materials, and employed James M'Allister to superintend the completion of the Hospital. June 6, the Trustees declined applying to the Legislature in aid of a project for a lottery, a portion of the profits of which were to be

for the use of the Hospital. June 20, an extract from the will of Beza Tucker was read, giving a brick dwelling-house and land in a court leading from Boylston-street, now Boylston Place; and the Treasurer was ordered to receive the same, and to make suitable acknowledgments therefor. It was then worth about six thousand dollars, and was sold in 1827 for \$5,350. Dr. Wyman was requested to assist the Building Committee of the Hospital. Mr. Francis resigned the office of Trustee, and, on July 19, his resignation was accepted; but he was requested still to advise and assist the Committee in finishing the Hospital. Oct. 5, it appeared that several elopements from the Asylum had occurred, and a Committee was appointed on the subject of measures proper to prevent the same. Oct. 22, the Building Committee were ordered to take measures to erect the western wing of Hospital in the ensuing spring. They reported that the centre and easterly wing were now nearly finished, but that it was inexpedient to open the Hospital immediately for the reception of patients. Nov. 19, blanks were ordered for admission of patients at Hospital, and a supply of necessary furniture.

Jan, 4, 1821, applications were received for office of Superintendent of Hospital, with recommendations. On Jan. 21, the existing Board of Trustees were re-elected; Mr. Francis being again chosen a member,

notwithstanding his recent resignation. But, Mr. Quincy having declined, the Board of Visitors elected Daniel P. Parker, Esq. On Feb. 11, "the Chairman communicated to the Board, intelligence of the decease, yesterday, of James Prince, Esq., late Treasurer of the Massachusetts General Hospital and of the Provident Institution for Savings in the town of Boston, and Marshal of the District of Massachusetts. The exemplary zeal, activity, faithfulness, and punctuality, displayed by Mr. Prince in promoting the objects of this institution, were called to mind by the Trustees, and his disinterested exertions considered as entitling him to the grateful remembrance of the charitable and humane." Mr. Francis says that he was a most able and efficient officer, and that without his assistance the purchase of the Allen-street Estate could not have been effected.

At this meeting, Feb. 11, it was ordered that Visiting Committees should hereafter consist of two instead of three members, and the term of service of each Committee be two months instead of four. Feb. 25, William Cochran, Esq., the new Treasurer, elected on the 20th instant, was qualified. March 4, twenty-two applications were received and read for offices of Superintendent and Matron of Hospital. At the annual meeting, March 21, 1821, a new draft of by-laws, as reported by Colonel May and the Secre-

tary, was adopted and recorded. March 21, Messrs. May, Sullivan, and the Secretary, were appointed a Committee on the rules and regulations for the Hospital. April 1, Capt. Nathaniel Fletcher and his wife were elected Superintendent and Matron of the Hospital. On April 29, it was voted to discontinue meetings on Sunday; which, however, were resumed in 1822. June 19, thanks were given to the Boston Manufacturing Company for a donation of three bales of sheetings. July 5, twenty-eight patients were reported as inmates of the Asylum; and rules and regulations were adopted for the Hospital, and recorded *in extenso*.

Aug. 21, notice was ordered to Drs. Jackson and Warren that the Hospital will be ready for patients on Sept. 1. On Sept. 3, one patient was admitted; and, until Sept. 20, not a single other application was made for admission. Sept. 4, Dr. Warren attended, and was requested to draft an address to the public. A communication was received from Mr. Greenough, in regard to paying the capital sum as provided for in his lease of Province House. A Committee on the subject (Messrs. Francis, Sargent, and Sullivan) were appointed, who, at the next meeting, reported in favor of receiving the same. At a Corporation meeting, Sept. 21, N. P. Russell, Esq., was elected Treasurer, in place of Mr. Cochran, deceased. Oct. 4, Dr. Jackson

nominated, as his assistant, Dr. Walter Channing. The Treasurer was authorized to borrow five thousand dollars. Oct. 11, Dr. Joshua Greene was appointed Apothecary. Nov. 6, it appeared that ten patients had been received at the Hospital, three discharged, one cured, and one relieved. Dec. 4, the title of the flats at the foot of Allen-street was ordered to be investigated, in reference to an alleged trespass by Charles Taylor, Esq. This strip of flats seems to have been conveyed to Mr. Taylor by the Hospital in 1822. On Dec. 23, a model of a machine, called a "gout-frame," invented by Mr. Joseph Trumball for the purpose of moving helpless people to and from bed, was presented. Messrs. Sullivan, Ward, and Bradford were appointed a Committee to prepare the annual report. Jan. 10, 1822, six free beds were established; three for medical, three for surgical patients.

At the Corporation meeting, Jan. 15, 1822, the Board of Trustees were thanked for their zealous and faithful services during the past year; and the same Trustees were re-elected, except that Theodore Lyman, jun., was chosen in place of Daniel Sargent, Esq. Drs. Warren and Jackson, Mr. Fletcher and Dr. Wyman, were severally re-elected to their offices. The Consulting Physicians were Drs. Isaac Rand, David Townsend, Thomas Welch, Aaron Dexter, William Spooner, James Mann; also, Drs. Joshua

Fisher of Beverly, and Amos Holbrook of Milton. On Feb. 24, Mr. Sullivan, Drs. Warren, Jackson, and Wyman, and Mr. Lyman, were appointed a Committee to prepare a description and general account of the two departments of the Hospital; and it was ordered that one thousand copies be printed for distribution. On March 10, the same, as reported by Mr. Lyman, was, with some trifling amendments, accepted. On March 14, it was voted to be inexpedient *at present* to publish with said document a list of the subscribers and benefactors. Five strong rooms were ordered to be built "for raging female patients." March 24, the Committee reported that two thousand copies of their address had been printed.

April 21, a donation of a thousand dollars was received from Mr. Horace Gray, and three hundred from the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society. The Building Committee were ordered to take measures for finishing the portico or pediment of the Hospital. May 5, an anonymous letter, enclosing ten dollars, was received, and ordered to be published in the newspapers. May 19, notice was given of a bequest of Captain Seth Webber, who lately died in Liverpool, of one thousand dollars to the *Marine Hospital* in Boston, believed to be designed for this institution. Aug. 4, the Chairman stated the decease of James Perkins, Esq., "Vice-President of this institution, and

one of its most munificent benefactors;" and that he, with others of the Board, attended his funeral yesterday. Sept. 1, a nomination of an Apothecary, as successor to Dr. Greene, was made by the Physician and Surgeon; and they were requested "*to withdraw the same, and to nominate some other person.*" The Treasurer was authorized to borrow five hundred dollars. Sept. 10, James M. Whittemore was nominated and appointed Apothecary. Oct. 10, twelve males, seven females, in Hospital. Dr. Jackson attended, and suggested certain regulations respecting nurses and attendants, with a view to the better preservation of order and quiet. The Visiting Committee were directed to inquire as to the expediency of excluding syphilitic patients. Nov. 3, the widow of Thomas Oliver being disposed to buy the furniture of her husband, of which she had the use for life, Mr. Head was authorized to do what he should "deem proper and liberal." He sold it to her for five hundred dollars. Nov. 10, a bedstead and other articles, made expressly for the late Abraham Touro during his illness, were presented by his sister. Dec. 1, the thanks of the Board were presented to the executors and residuary devisees of Captain Seth Webber, for their voluntary payment of his recent legacy of one thousand dollars; the same having been now received. Additional rules and regulations for

the Asylum, &c. were adopted. Messrs. Coolidge and May were appointed a Committee to wait on Hon. William Phillips, to request him to sit for his portrait. This portrait by Stuart is, it is needless to say, a fine painting and an excellent likeness. Dec. 15, Samuel Appleton resigned his office of Trustee. On Jan. 7, 1823, Messrs. Sullivan, Phillips, and Coolidge were appointed a Committee to prepare the annual report.

The address to the public in 1822 is a pamphlet of thirty-four pages, signed by all the twelve Trustees, and is a very full and interesting summary of all that had been done for the institution, and its position and prospects at that time. It is believed to have been from the pen of Mr. Lyman. Letters from Drs. Jackson and Warren, and a report from Dr. Wyman, are embodied in it. The property of the institution is stated as follows:—

The Province House	\$40,000.00
Boylston Place House	6,000.00
General donations in money	28,599.87
	<u>\$74,599.87</u>
Donations specially for Hospital . . .	73,809.29
„ „ for Asylum . . .	53,997.47
	<u>\$202,406.63</u>
Making the grand total of . . .	
The cost of the Hospital-land and building being . .	\$94,352.29
„ „ Asylum-land „ „ „ . .	89,821.16
	<u>\$184,173.45</u>

The debts of the institution being \$19,850, and the income of its property not enough to pay the salaries.

The buildings of both departments had, however, been opened to patients ; and they had been placed under the charge of two gentlemen, Dr. Wyman and Mr. Fletcher, who were admirably fitted for their respective posts. The one, indeed, was soon removed from us by a sudden and lamented death. The other, for many years afterwards, with an ever-increasing reputation and success, won for himself, while living, the most unbounded confidence and respect, and has left to his children an honored name, — the most precious of all legacies.

CHAPTER IV.

JANUARY, 1823, to JUNE, 1827.

MUMMY FROM THEBES. — FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS INVESTED IN MASSACHUSETTS HOSPITAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY. — WEST WING OF HOSPITAL FINISHED. — DEBT CREATED. — BEQUEST OF JOHN M'LEAN, OVER ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS. — LEGACIES OF ABRAHAM TOURO, ELEANOR DAVIS, &c. — DEATH OF MR. FLETCHER. — NATHAN GURNEY ELECTED SUPERINTENDENT. — GIFT OF A SOW. — LAFAYETTE. — ANNUAL FREE BEDS. — PORTRAITS OF BENEFACTORS. — COL. MAY RESIGNS. — JOSEPH HEAD CHAIRMAN. — ERYSIPELAS AT HOSPITAL. — PATIENTS REMOVED. — MEASURES IN HONOR OF JOHN M'LEAN. — VALUE OF HIS BEQUEST AS COMPARED WITH LIFE INSURANCE CHARTERS.

At the annual meeting in January, 1823, the Trustees reported that the funds had been increased \$4,238.50 by donations; that the interior of the west wing of the Hospital was finished, and ready for occupation; and that the colonnade in front would be raised in the ensuing season. Three new Trustees were now elected; viz. Benjamin Guild and William H. Prescott chosen by the Corporation, and Gardiner Greene by the Board of Visitors, in the place of Richard Sullivan, Samuel Appleton, and John Belknap. Mr. Appleton had contributed two thousand dollars at the commencement of the establishment, and was thus one of the most liberal of its early benefactors. Mr. Belknap has taken great interest in the institution to the pre-

sent time. He attends all the annual meetings; and, indeed, he and two or three others are generally the only representatives of the public on those occasions. Mr. Sullivan, as Secretary and Trustee, had been connected with the Hospital from its foundation, and, as we have seen, had in 1819 delivered a public address in its behalf. The Board now consisted of Messrs. Joseph May, Chairman; Ebenezer Francis, Thomas W. Ward, Benjamin Guild, Gamaliel Bradford, Joseph Head, Theodore Lyman, jun., William H. Prescott, Joseph Coolidge, Daniel P. Parker, Jonathan Phillips, and Gardiner Greene. On Jan. 7, 1823, Messrs. Francis, Parker, and May, with the Treasurer and Secretary, were appointed a Committee on the subject of the Hospital's right to grant annuities, and at the next meeting reported the agreement with the Life Insurance Company, which was subsequently sanctioned by the Legislature in 1824. Feb. 2, Messrs. Head, Francis, and Greene were appointed a Committee to subscribe for stock in the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, not exceeding fifty thousand dollars. The Committee subscribed for the whole sum named. It has proved a most fortunate investment, now yielding nine per cent interest.

Eight Consulting Physicians were chosen, — Drs. John G. Coffin, John Dixwell, and John Gorham, taking the place of Drs. Rand, Fisher, and Holbrook.

Feb. 23, the Treasurer was authorized to borrow ten thousand dollars. Messrs. Lyman and Guild were appointed a Committee for collecting a library for each department of the institution. March 9, a donation of three hundred dollars for the use of the Asylum was offered and accepted on condition, that, if the donor were ever subsequently to need it, the same should be repaid to him without interest. March 23, one hundred dollars more was offered and accepted on the same condition. Dr. Whittemore resigning, Mr. Benjamin Barrett was elected Apothecary. May 4, a mummy from Thebes was presented by Bryant P. Tilden and Robert B. Edes, in behalf of Jacob Van Lennep and Company, of Smyrna (the Hospital paying two hundred dollars out of the proceeds of its exhibition to the Boston Dispensary), which was gratefully accepted. This mummy is now an appropriate ornament of the operating room at the Hospital. May 18, Samuel Swett, Esq., was elected Trustee, in place of Gamaliel Bradford, who resigned. June 1, a donation of books, of the value of fifty dollars, transmitted through Dr. Warren, was presented, with a catalogue. July 8, Messrs. Francis and Guild were appointed a Committee to attend to the suit of Hezekiah Blanchard's heirs. This related to the claim before alluded to.

On July 23, the Treasurer was authorized to re-

ceive the legacy of Abraham Touro. It was the extremely liberal sum of ten thousand dollars. On Aug. 10, the donor of the four hundred dollars *on condition* was declared to be Mr. Lambert, of Roxbury, then deceased. Aug. 24, Charles W. Chauncey was chosen Apothecary, Mr. Barrett having resigned. A rule was adopted, which has since proved very salutary, to charge board for the whole quarter in all cases of insane patients removed by friends before the expiration of the quarter, and against the advice of the Physician. Sept. 9, a vote passed authorizing the borrowing of thirty thousand dollars, and, on Sept. 21, five thousand more, both on mortgage of the Province House Estate and Boylston Place House. Oct. 7, the Committee reported that they had leased the mummy one year for exhibition in other cities. The Chairman reported that the portrait of the President was finished; and, on Oct. 10, it was received. The west wing of the Hospital was now ready for patients.

Nov. 2, 1823, the gratifying announcement was made of a bequest from John M'Lean, of twenty-five thousand dollars, payable on death of his widow, and with the information that he had also made this institution his residuary legatee, by which "a much larger sum" would be secured. This residue proved to be over ninety thousand dollars. Mr. M'Lean was a truly noble specimen of a Boston merchant. Hav-

ing many years before failed in business, he settled with all his creditors, and obtained a full discharge. Soon afterwards, by the safe arrival, as I believe, of a vessel supposed to have been lost, he retrieved his affairs. He forthwith called a meeting of his creditors, and paid to each of them the balance due, both principal and interest.

Nov. 23, Dr. John B. Brown was chosen Assistant Surgeon, on nomination of Dr. Warren. The office of Steward was created at the Asylum, to relieve Dr. Wyman of part of his duties; and John M. Goodwin was elected. A Committee was appointed to obtain a portrait of Mr. M'Lean, and to report on the expediency of obtaining portraits of other liberal donors. Dec. 7, Messrs. May, Greene, and Francis, with the Treasurer and Secretary, were appointed a Committee to make a settlement with the executors of Mr. M'Lean. The Secretary was subsequently discharged, and Mr. Guild appointed in his place. The Asylum was represented as being full, and several applications for admittance declined for that reason. The Committee for obtaining Mr. M'Lean's portrait were also charged with procuring a portrait of the late Samuel Eliot. Jan. 6, the Treasurer was authorized to borrow six thousand dollars. Messrs. May and Francis were appointed a Committee to settle Mr. M'Allister's accounts.

At the annual meeting in January, 1824, Mr. Lyman presented the annual report, noticing in suitable terms the recent munificent bequest of John M'Lean, Esq. Dr. Jackson and Mr. Francis were appointed a Committee as to an alteration in the time of the annual meeting; and this Committee reported subsequently in favor of meeting on the second Wednesday of June, which report was accepted, so that the Trustees now chosen served a year and a half. Edward Tuckerman was elected Trustee in place of William H. Prescott. Feb. 1, a letter from Dr. Coffin was received, resigning his office of Consulting Physician, and making some observations on the offices of Attending Physician and Surgeon. Feb. 8, Messrs. Francis and Guild were appointed a Committee on the settlement of accounts by the executors of Mr. M'Lean, as to the amount charged for commissions, and the investment of the trust-fund.

In the ninth volume of Pickering's Reports, page 447, is a report of the suit brought by Harvard College and the Hospital, *v.* the surviving Trustee under Mr. M'Lean's will; in which the Court decided that the Trustees had the right to select any stocks they pleased for the trust-fund. They had appropriated to this object insurance stock, entitled to large foreign claims, and manufacturing stocks, which shortly afterwards made large dividends for sale of

patent rights and patterns and machinery. The two Corporations had offered to pay six per cent interest to the widow (three thousand dollars a year) in December, 1823; but their proposal was declined. The ultimate value of the trust-property received on the decease of Mrs. M'Lean, in the year 1834, was thus reduced to less than twenty thousand dollars for each of the two Corporations, while she herself received an income probably averaging twelve per cent per annum. It is believed that every Trustee of the Hospital and every Corporator of the College coincided in opinion, that this investment of the trust-funds, though adjudged to be legal, was not made in the exercise of a sound discretion, and with a due regard to the rights of all parties.

Feb. 20, a patient was dismissed by the Visiting Committee "for having introduced liquor privately." Feb. 24, Messrs. Francis and Head were appointed a Committee to advise and direct the Treasurer in the investment of sums of money he may receive. April 6, Messrs. Francis and Russell were appointed a Committee on the mode of keeping the accounts with the Superintendent. April 9, thanks were given to Gorham Parsons, Esq., "*for the present of a sow of an uncommonly fine breed.*" Her weight, in the Visiting Committee's records, is stated at 273 pounds. As this gift is noticed in both records,

it evidently made a great sensation. May 2, notice was given of a settlement of Gray's suit by a judgment in favor of Hospital by consent, and a payment of five hundred dollars. June 6, a cold and warm salt-water bathing-house was ordered to be erected at the Hospital. Aug. 15, Dr. Henry Lane was elected Apothecary, in place of Dr. Chauncey, who resigned. The Humane Society announced their intention of giving enough annually to support six free beds; which generous proposal was gratefully acknowledged and accepted.

Sept. 26, the profits of the exhibition of the mummy are stated to be fifteen hundred dollars. The donation-book, probably deducting certain charges and the payment to the Dispensary, makes the sum but little over twelve hundred dollars. Dec. 19, Messrs. Francis, Parker, and Lyman were appointed a Committee to consider the expediency of erecting an additional building at the Asylum. Dec. 31, thirty-two males and twelve females in Hospital: total, forty-four.

At the annual meeting of the Corporation, Jan. 7, 1825, no change was made in the Board of Trustees for this year. Jan. 7, Committees were appointed to procure portraits of Mr. Oliver and Mr. Touro. The portrait of John M'Lean was brought in at this meeting. It is one of the happiest works of

Stuart. The record says of this painting, "The resemblance is striking, and the expression characteristic." Feb. 20, a bequest of the late Mrs. Eleanor Davis, of nine hundred dollars, was communicated, with information that the amount had been paid by her executor, Dr. George C. Shattuck; and the Treasurer was directed to make suitable acknowledgments for the same. April 5, the subject of incurable patients at the Asylum was referred to Messrs. Francis, Prescott, and May.

May 1, Mr. Francis, of the Visiting Committee, stated the death of Capt. Nathaniel Fletcher this day, after an illness of less than a week; and that Dr. Lane, the resident medical officer, had been requested to act *pro tem*. The Chairman and the Visiting Committee were instructed to superintend the arrangements for the funeral. Mr. Francis says that Mr. Fletcher had always made a very exemplary officer, having given entire satisfaction to the Trustees. Messrs. Swett and Prescott were appointed a Committee to prepare the report, to be presented at the annual meeting, June 8 next, according to a late change in the by-laws.

At this annual meeting, Bryant P. Tilden, Esq., Captain Robert B. Edes, Jacob Van Lennep of Smyrna, Rufus Wyman, and Samuel Swett, Esq., were elected members. The three first gentlemen

had been instrumental in the late donation of the mummy. It was also voted, "That the Hon. William Prescott, Thomas H. Perkins, Josiah Quincy, John Lowell, Charles Jackson, Peter C. Brooks, and Dr. John C. Warren, be a Committee to devise the most becoming mode of perpetuating the memory of the late John M'Lean, Esq., as a munificent benefactor of this institution; and that said Committee report to the Board of Trustees of this Corporation, whose decision thereon shall be final." May 29, 1825, fifteen applications for the office of Superintendent were considered; and, on June 12, Nathan Gurney, then of Abington, Mass., was unanimously elected. On Monday, June 20, General Lafayette, with his son and several gentlemen, accompanied by his excellency the Governor and the Lieutenant-Governor, visited the Hospital. They were received by the President of the Corporation, the Board of Trustees, and the Physicians and Surgeons, and were conducted through the several wards and other parts of the building. The engagements of the General did not permit him to visit the Asylum for the Insane at Charlestown. July 2, the Board of Visitors made their visit at the Asylum. Mr. Gurney and his wife arrived, and commenced their duties.

July 24, a grant of one hundred dollars was made to Dr. Lane, for his services as acting Superintendent

since the decease of Mr. Fletcher, "in which capacity his discreet and zealous performance of the duties of the office have met with the entire approbation of the Trustees." Sept. 28, plans were considered for an addition to the male wing at the Asylum, which, on Sept. 30, was ordered to be built; and Messrs. Francis, Parker, and Lyman were appointed a Building Committee to carry said vote into effect. Oct. 7, it was voted that the Visiting Committees should make their visits unattended by the superintendents, apothecaries, or nurses, probably in order that patients might more freely state any causes of complaint. Oct. 23, Dr. Lane resigned his office of Apothecary, and Mr. Joseph Reynolds was elected. An important vote was passed, placing a free bed for one year at the disposal of any one who should pay one hundred dollars. The result has been that more than sixty thousand dollars have been since received for free beds. Nov. 6, a quarterly analysis of the accounts, showing the cost of stores, &c., was ordered to be laid before the Board. Nov. 20, the last instalment of the fifty thousand dollars stock in the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company was paid in. Dec. 18, the subject of the admission of patients with syphilis and infectious disorders was referred to the Visiting Committee and General Lyman. The fact that certain persons were in the habit of visiting the

Hospital on Sundays, and having religious worship in the wards, often producing an unfavorable excitement in the patients, was communicated to the Board; and the subject was referred to the Chairman and Mr. Prescott, who, by a written report at the next meeting, put an end to the practice alluded to. Dec. 30, twenty-eight males and eighteen females in Hospital.

On Jan. 12, 1826, a Committee (by Mr. Francis, the Chairman) reported in favor of receiving actual possession now of Thomas Oliver's property (\$24,138.70), and agreeing to pay his widow thirteen hundred dollars a year during her life; which report was accepted. Jan. 22, nineteen annual subscribers for free beds had been obtained. Feb. 5, a letter from Joseph Head, sen. and jun., executors of Mr. Oliver's will, was received and read, relinquishing twelve hundred dollars, the amount of their commissions; and the thanks of the Board were presented for this donation. An extra grant was made to Dr. Wyman of five hundred dollars for his services and aid in regard to the new building at the Asylum. Feb. 26, 1826, Dr. John B. Brown's resignation was accepted. March 19, Allen Crocker's bequest of one hundred dollars was received and acknowledged; and Dr. George Hayward was chosen Assistant Surgeon. Dr. Hayward, after serving as a surgeon of the institution for twenty-five years, resigned in 1851; and his

labors were so highly appreciated, that the Trustees, by a special vote, requested him to withdraw his resignation, and, on his final retirement, passed a highly complimentary vote, to which all the Board felt that he was fully entitled.

On April 7, a free bed for life was placed at the disposal of Mrs. Ann M'Lean, widow of John M'Lean, Esq. April 11, four incurable patients were removed from the Asylum, to make room for curable cases. May 21, Messrs. Head, Francis, and Prescott were appointed a Committee to prepare the annual report; and it was ordered that the rate of board, once fixed by the Visiting Committee, should not be altered, except by vote of the Trustees, — a rule still acted on. May 21, the Committee on Mr. Eliot's portrait reported that it was painted by Mr. Stuart, and had been placed at the Asylum. June 4, 1826, Mr. Goodwin resigned as Steward of the Asylum. As will be hereafter seen, he subsequently died holding the office of Superintendent of the Hospital. June 12, the Committee appointed at the last meeting of the Corporation, to take into consideration the best mode of perpetuating the memory of John M'Lean, recommended that the Asylum be hereafter known as "The M'Lean Asylum for the Insane;" which report was accepted and ordered to be laid before the Corporation. The report itself is copied on the records of the

Corporation. It closes as follows: "Your Committee have reason to believe, from the information of one of their number, that the proposed arrangement will be entirely satisfactory to the friends of the testator and benefactor."

At the annual meeting in June, 1826, considerable changes were made in the Board of Trustees. Messrs. William Sturgis and Edward H. Robbins, jun., were elected by the Corporation, and George Ticknor by the Board of Visitors, in the place of Messrs. Lyman, Prescott, and Daniel P. Parker, who had retired, and to whom the thanks of the Corporation were voted for their faithful services. Mr. Parker has lately died. He was one of the early liberal benefactors of the Hospital, having subscribed five hundred dollars to its funds. Mr. Lyman subsequently held the office of Vice-President, and at his death left a name indissolubly connected with the public charitable institutions of Massachusetts, one of the most important of which he had founded. His memory, as that of one of the purest and wisest of philanthropists, will be held sacred through all coming generations.

At a Trustees' meeting, July 23, and five or six subsequent ones, various sums were placed at the disposal of Mr. Francis, as Chairman of the Building Committee. Oct. 6, John Welles, Esq., offered trees and shrubs from his place at Dorchester, for the use

of the Hospital ; also the loan of his teams, plough, and driver, to put the grounds in order. Oct. 10, Mr. Eliot's portrait was removed from the Asylum to the Hospital. Oct. 26, Mr. Phineas M. Crane was elected Apothecary, in place of Dr. Reynolds, resigned. Nov. 5th, Colonel Joseph May having tendered his resignation, "voted that this Board is desirous of expressing its regret that Colonel May, after twelve years of faithful and important services as a Trustee, and after having been many years the presiding officer of this Board, has found it necessary, from circumstances connected with his other duties, to resign his place ; and they pray him on this occasion to accept the assurance of their respectful regard." Nov. 29, thanks were given to Hon. John Welles and Hon. Jonathan Hunnewell, for a large number of young trees and ornamental shrubs.

Dec. 3, Joseph Head was elected Chairman ; and Amos Lawrence, Esq. was elected a Trustee in place of Colonel May. Dec. 29, forty males and sixteen females in Hospital. Jan. 9, 1827, erysipelatous inflammation having appeared at Hospital, the expediency of removing all the patients was discussed ; and Messrs. Tuckerman, Sturgis, Phillips, and Guild were appointed a Committee on the subject. Jan. 14, Mr. Francis, Chairman of the Building Committee, reported \$28,888.07 as expended at the Asylum

to Jan. 10. The Committee reported that they had decided, after conference with the Physician and Surgeon, to make a temporary removal of all patients from the Hospital (as far as practicable), with a view to a "thorough purification by fumigation or otherwise;" and that the Rev. Dr. James Freeman has very liberally and readily offered his dwelling-house in Vine-street, near the Hospital, for the accommodation of the patients. Jan. 21, twelve patients were reported as removed to Dr. Freeman's house, and twenty-one discharged. The Canal Bridge asked for a copy of their letter as to the immunity, granted to the officers of this Corporation in 1819, from paying toll; and it was sent. Jan. 28, the Hospital was reported to be entirely clear of patients, and "cleansing, fumigation, and alteration of fire-places, &c., in progress." Feb. 4, the patients from Dr. Freeman's house were received back into the Hospital. March 25, Dr. Robbins was appointed a Committee to return to Dr. Freeman the key of his house, with thanks. April 22, the house devised by Beza Tucker, in Boylston Place, was sold to Matthew M. Hunt, Esq., for \$5,350 at auction. May 20, Messrs. Head, Ticknor, and the Secretary, were appointed a Committee to prepare the annual report. June 29, males twenty-six, females eighteen: total, forty-two in the Hospital.

This third period of five years was a very impor-

tant one. The great event of the M'Lean donation served to relieve the institution from embarrassments, and insured its success. The contingency had now occurred, which was contemplated in the charter, of a donation greater than that of the Commonwealth. It was the feeling of Mrs. M'Lean, and also, at first, of others of the testator's connections, that the corporate name should be changed. There was an earnest desire to do all that could or ought to be done to express the high sense entertained of this act of munificence. The decision finally made was, it is believed, alike expedient for the Hospital, and just to the deceased. His name was given to one of the two great departments of the institution, on which a very large sum was forthwith expended for the erection of additional buildings, and where many expensive improvements have since been made, so that the actual cost of the establishment which bears his name is more than double the amount realized from his whole bequest. On the other hand, the corporate name remaining unchanged, many sons and daughters of Massachusetts have since contributed to it as a *State* institution, what perhaps they would have hesitated to bestow, if it had borne the name of a private founder.

None of the annual reports of the institution prior to 1826 have been preserved. This report is on one

printed sheet. It states that forty-three free beds had been kept at the Hospital during the preceding year; that thirty-one males and twenty-six females were then in the Asylum under treatment. It estimates the value of the invested property of the Hospital at \$96,694.06; and its annual expenses, for Hospital, \$9,942.10, and for Asylum, \$5,390.62: total expenses, \$15,332.72. Total income, deducting Mrs. Oliver's annuity, \$6,336.18. It makes grateful mention of Mr. M'Lean's donation, and alludes to the measures in progress in relation to a suitable testimonial of the gratitude of the institution. It states that the fifty thousand dollars invested in the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company had not yet begun to yield any income. No printed copy of the annual report prepared in 1827 has been preserved. Within this period of five years, a new west wing had been erected at the Hospital, completing that building as it stood down to 1844. A large and expensive addition was in progress at the Asylum to complete the buildings for male patients as they now are. The debts of the institution were all paid, and fifty thousand dollars had been invested in the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company; and the highly important arrangement before alluded to had been made with that Company. Mr. Francis was Chairman of the Committee of the Hospital for effect-

ing this arrangement. He was also a member of the Committee of the Life Insurance Company, as well as its largest private stockholder ; a circumstance which, of course, gave additional weight to his opinions and advice. Dr. Bowditch, the Actuary of that Company, had always felt an interest in the Hospital, having been a zealous and efficient member of the Committee for collecting subscriptions in its behalf in the town of Salem. Both these gentlemen believed that the true interests of the Insurance Company rendered a liberal arrangement with the Hospital highly expedient, even if viewed merely as a matter of policy. They felt convinced that the good-will universally cherished toward the Hospital would, in coming times, tend to protect the Insurance Company from that jealousy to which large moneyed institutions are naturally exposed. It should ever be remembered, then, that to the sagacity, intelligence, and liberal views of the Committees of the Hospital and of the Life Insurance Company, on this occasion, our institution is nearly, if not quite, as much indebted as it is to the noble munificence of John M'Lean.

CHAPTER V.

JUNE, 1827, THROUGH 1832.

BEQUEST OF WILLIAM PHILLIPS. — VARIOLOID AT HOSPITAL. — DOMESTIC COFFEE. — DONATION BOOK. — NEW BUILDING AT ASYLUM. — FIRE AT HOSPITAL. — AUDITOR OF ACCOUNTS. — SILVER SPOONS. — EBENEZER FRANCIS, CHAIRMAN. — MR. JOY'S BRICK-KILN. — DEATH OF MRS. GURNEY. — WEDDING AT HOSPITAL. — DEATH OF GENERAL COBB. — DR. GEORGE HAYWARD CHOSEN JUNIOR SURGEON. — COLORED PATIENT. — PLANK SIDEWALK. — BEQUEST OF JEREMIAH BELKNAP. — DONATION OF JOSEPH LEE. — LYING-IN HOSPITAL. — EDWARD TUCKERMAN, CHAIRMAN. — DONATIONS OF JOHN P. CUSHING AND JOHN C. GRAY. — BEQUEST OF ISAIAH THOMAS. — CHOLERA PATIENTS. — DR. WYMAN'S ILLNESS AND TWO RESIGNATIONS. — DR. WALKER'S SERVICES. — MUNIFICENT BEQUEST OF MISS MARY BELKNAP, ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS. — SERVICES OF JOSEPH HEAD. — PORTRAIT OF MR. BELKNAP: HOW PAINTED. — BEQUEST OF MISS MARGARET TUCKER. — A PAINTED LETTER. — BELKNAP WARD. — PROSPEROUS CONDITION OF THE INSTITUTION.

At the annual meeting, June 13, 1827, Hon. Nathaniel Bowditch and Henry Codman, Esq., were elected members of the Corporation; and Patrick T. Jackson and Mr. Codman were elected Trustees, in place of Messrs. Swett and Sturgis, who declined election, and were thanked for their services. Amos Lawrence, Esq., who had been chosen by the Trustees to supply the vacancy at the resignation of Colonel May, was now elected by the Corporation. The officers at this period were Hon. Thomas H. Perkins, President; Hon. John Lowell, Vice-President; Hon. Nathaniel P. Russell, Treasurer; Nathaniel I.

Bowditch, Secretary ; Joseph Head, Chairman ; Ebenezer Francis, Edward Tuckerman, Benjamin Guild, Edward H. Robbins, jun., Amos Lawrence, Patrick T. Jackson, and Henry Codman, Trustees, chosen by the Corporation ; Gardiner Greene, Joseph Coolidge, Jonathan Phillips, and George Ticknor, Trustees, chosen by the Board of Visitors. The Consulting Physicians, elected at the first meeting of the Trustees, July 1, were Drs. Thomas Welsh, William Spooner, John Gorham, John Dixwell, George C. Shattuck, and Jacob Bigelow, of Boston ; and Drs. Abraham R. Thompson and William J. Walker, of Charlestown. On July 3, the annual visitation was made by the Board of Visitors. Two hundred copies only of the annual report being printed, it is not now extant. Of one later report, four thousand copies were printed : fifteen hundred is now the usual number. Aug. 20, the Massachusetts Humane Society were thanked for a renewal of their annual subscription for free beds during a further term of three years.

Sept. 2, a letter from Jonathan Phillips, Esq., was received, communicating a bequest from his late father, William Phillips, of five thousand dollars, as a fund, the income "to be applied for the relief of the sick poor of the city of Boston ;" and this donation was gratefully accepted "as a new instance of the testator's munificence towards this institution."

At the next meeting, the amount, having been received, was ordered to be placed in the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company during the life of the Secretary. The portrait of Mr. Phillips was at this meeting loaned to the Trustees of Phillips Academy. A vote was also passed, which is still acted upon, that all moneys received from patients by the Superintendent shall be placed at once to their credit on the books of the Hospital. On Sept. 12, the Treasurer was authorized to borrow of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company twenty-five thousand dollars, on pledge of the shares in that Company. Oct. 5, Dr. John B. S. Jackson was elected Apothecary at the Hospital. Oct. 9, Henry Pierce, of Salem, was elected Steward of the Asylum, in place of G. W. Folsom, the late Steward, deceased. Dec. 16, the Board expressed to the late Apothecary, Dr. Crane, their sense of the satisfactory manner in which he had performed his duties. The Visiting Committee, appointed at the last meeting, reported on the subject of rates of board at the Asylum, that they should never be less than three dollars nor more than twelve dollars per week. By special vote, subsequently, some have paid at rates as low as two dollars, and as high as twenty dollars per week. A circular was directed to be prepared, soliciting free-bed subscriptions at the Hospital.

At a special meeting, Dec. 29, Drs. Jackson and Warren attended, and announced a case of varioloid in the Hospital (Dr. Crane, the late Apothecary), and the measures which they had taken to prevent infection, such as removal of the patient, vaccination, &c.; and they were requested to publish a newspaper statement, "that no unnecessary degree of alarm may be excited in the public mind." Owing to the judicious measures adopted, no other case occurred. Jan. 11, 1828, the Superintendent was directed not to buy any more "domestic coffee." The nature of this "villanous compound" is not stated on the records; but it was probably a preparation of rye. Mrs. John C. Warren was thanked for "her friendly present of twenty-one volumes" to the Hospital Library. Jan. 27, forty free beds were established. There are now eighty.

On March 9, Colonel May was requested to prepare a list of all donations to the Massachusetts General Hospital, and one hundred dollars was appropriated to that object. This vote is the origin of the "Donation-book," decidedly the most important of all the records of the institution. It was completed down to this date in a beautifully neat style of penmanship, and has been since continued to the present time in an equally satisfactory manner by Henry B. Rogers, Esq. Thomas B. Wales, Esq., was thanked

for his donation of \$825 for the purchase of a free bed for life. March 23, Mr. Francis, from the Building Committee, reported that the whole expenses since May, 1826, at Asylum, were \$64,166.57; of which fifty-eight thousand dollars had been paid by the Treasurer on orders of the Committee; — that the lodge (a separate brick building for violent patients) was now finished and occupied; the large building nearly finished, and in part occupied, &c. April 11, 1828, Dr. Wyman was authorized to procure a carriage and a pair of horses, to be used at the M'Lean Asylum for the Insane, for the purpose of giving air and exercise to the boarders. A grant of one hundred dollars was made to Mr. and Mrs. Gurney, "for their kind, assiduous, and faithful services as Superintendent and Matron of the Hospital." On April 27, Mr. Greenough applying to buy the reversionary interest of the Corporation in the Province House Estate, Messrs. Francis and Lawrence were appointed a Committee to ascertain its value. The Hospital declined making the proposed sale.

May 11, Messrs. Guild, Jackson, and Robbins were appointed a Committee to prepare the annual report. June 8, the mansion-house at the Asylum was ordered to be repaired, though it must be "at considerable expense." The annual report is signed by Joseph Head, Chairman of the Trustees. It occupies but

two and a half octavo pages. It states the whole number of free patients discharged for the year ending April 1, 1828, to be 218. Appended to the report are tables, showing donations during the year: from a black woman, 50 cents; Samuel T. Armstrong, \$100; Thomas B. Wales, \$825; thirty-three free beds, \$3,320; life-free beds of Jeremiah Belknap, \$654, and Peter C. Brooks, \$810; dividend of Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, \$3,500, &c.; making in all, \$14,473.64. The invested property of the Hospital was stated at \$38,900. June 6, there were thirty-one males and twenty-eight females in the Hospital.

At the annual meeting, June 11, 1828, William H. Gardiner was chosen a Trustee in place of P. T. Jackson, Esq., who declined a re-election, and was thanked for his services. All the medical and surgical officers, &c., of the last year, were re-elected. July 3, the Board of Visitors visited. "His Excellency (Levi Lincoln) was pleased to express great satisfaction at the result of his visit." July 8, the Secretary was directed henceforth to audit the accounts of both branches of the institution, with a salary of one hundred dollars additional for that duty. This vote is still acted on, and has relieved the Trustees of a duty which had been gradually becoming very irksome and laborious. July 11, 1828, the cylindrical tin

case, containing the title-deeds, &c., was deposited in the safe of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company. [In March, 1844, it was again restored to the Treasurer's custody.] July 11, the Acting Physician and Surgeon were requested to nominate assistants; "the Trustees deeming it desirable that occasional changes should be made in those nominated, when consistent with the welfare of the institution." On Aug. 3, the number of assistants was restricted not to exceed three for each. Dr. Walter Channing was nominated and appointed Assistant Physician; and Drs. Edward Reynolds and George W. Otis, Assistant Surgeons. The Board declined, "though with sincere regret," loaning the portraits of their donors for an exhibition of "Stuart's Pictures." Sept. 7, the Apothecary was ordered to be styled the House Physician; and Dr. Augustus A. Gould was appointed for one year from Sept. 1.

Henry Codman, Esq., the late Secretary, having relinquished his salary for several years, was thanked for this donation; the Trustees acknowledging "the uniformly zealous and faithful discharge of his official duties, of which the records of this Board throughout afford such ample testimony." Oct. 26, the Treasurer was authorized to borrow ten thousand dollars more. Mr. Francis and the Visiting Committee were appointed to revise the rules and regulations for the

Asylum. On Nov. 11, they made a report, abolishing the office of Steward, and substituting a Clerk and Supervisor, with prescribed duties, with salaries of three hundred and four hundred dollars. Nov. 23, Mr. Oliver B. Bond was chosen Supervisor. Dec. 7, Dr. William Spooner resigned as one of the Consulting Physicians, and was thanked for his services.

On Sunday, Dec. 14, a special meeting of the Trustees was held; present, the whole Board, except Dr. Robbins, confined by illness. The record reads: "The present meeting was in consequence of a fire which broke out in the eastern wing of the Hospital, just before the morning service, and which, though at first threatening the destruction of the building, was happily subdued, after causing some injury to the roof and upper apartments." Messrs. Coolidge, Francis, and Ticknor were appointed a Committee to investigate the cause of the fire, and to make all repairs. Votes were passed, thanking the fire-department of this and the neighboring towns, which were ordered to be published, with a notice, "that the damage sustained by the building is not so great as to interrupt the reception of patients as usual." Thanks were also presented to individuals who had kindly offered the use of their houses, should the removal of the patients have become necessary. The Board expressed their sense of the zeal "manifested by the citizens

generally on this occasion, and particularly by those who assisted in restoring the house to order, after the fire was extinguished." Hon. Josiah Quincy, the Mayor, attended at the meeting, "for the purpose of affording, on behalf of the city, any aid which might be required." Nathan Gurney, Esq., the Superintendent, was publicly thanked by the Board "for his care and attention to the patients, and generally for his considerate and judicious arrangements adopted on this occasion." It appears that ten convalescent patients were discharged, and all those in the east wards removed to the other part of the house, but without any great "suffering, either from the alarm or the removal."

A few weeks after this event, a patient, the nature of whose disorder required that he should be separated as far as possible from others in the house, was placed in the most remote apartment in the range of one-story wooden out-buildings, which then extended from the north side of the Hospital to Allen-street. It was an intensely cold night, and a large fire was made in the stove in his apartment, the funnel from which came out through the north side of the room into the open air. A watchman, going his rounds, had his attention attracted to a blaze, three or four feet in height, just kindled around this aperture, and extinguished it without any general

alarm; the slumbers even of the patient not being disturbed. A few days afterwards, as one of the medical officers was making a visit, attended by his students, a smell of smoke became perceptible; and an attendant came into the ward in an agitated manner, and mentioned something to him in an under tone. He turned round in a smiling manner to the students, and said, "Young gentlemen, *nothing unusual is the matter*; I am merely informed that the house is on fire." The beginnings of a fire from some combustibles in the cellar were speedily extinguished with no damage. Since these remarkable coincidences, we have enjoyed an entire immunity from any dangerous accidents of this sort.

Dec. 21, the Treasurer was authorized to borrow seven thousand dollars more. Mr. Francis presented a report as to the cause of the fire. The Committee "found on the north side of the chimney, between the ceiling of the upper story and the floor of the garret, a piece of timber and plank introduced into the chimney," which probably caught fire from the chimney having been burnt out that morning; — "that two years ago an alteration was made, and a flue heretofore used for ventilation was converted into a smoke-flue by a person not acquainted with the original plan, and who had no knowledge that any wood was connected with the flue;" that no blame was attachable

to the Superintendent, or those under his direction, for burning out the chimneys; that the day was favorable, and the hour proper; that the repairs had been nearly completed, and at much less expense than was expected. It did not exceed six hundred dollars. Dec. 26, there were twenty-three males and fifteen females in the Hospital: total, thirty-eight.

Jan. 22, 1829, an appeal was ordered to be taken from the probate-decree in the matter of Mr. M'Lean's trust-fund. Feb. 3, James S. Russell, of Dracut, was chosen Clerk at the Asylum. Feb. 12, an additional House Physician was ordered to be appointed; and the Superintendent was ordered to purchase "a suitable number of silver spoons for use at the Hospital, instead of the present pewter ones." Feb. 16, Willard Parker was elected House Physician.

On March 8, the death of Mrs. Gurney yesterday, after a short illness, was announced; and a vote was passed, expressing the sense entertained by the Board of her "kind and careful services," and assuring Mr. Gurney of their sympathy "for his personal loss," and granting him leave of absence. March 22, Mr. Gurney becoming seriously ill, Dr. Gould was requested to act as Superintendent *pro tem*. April 7, Dr. Reynolds resigned his office of Assistant Surgeon. April 10, Mr. Coolidge was appointed a Committee to cause the grounds to be restored to as good order

as before the late fire. April 26, Messrs. Codman, Francis, and Lawrence were appointed a Committee to prepare the annual report. This report is about four pages long. It presents an interesting view of what had been accomplished to that date. Total receipts of the year, \$8,213.31. Cost of Hospital, \$130,640.31 ; of Asylum, \$187,326.70. May 24, the Treasurer was authorized to borrow three thousand dollars more. June 7, Dr. Hayward was requested to supply Dr. Warren's place during a temporary absence ; the Board taking occasion "to express to Dr. Warren their high sense of the value of his services, and their belief that this interval of relaxation will enable him soon to resume his arduous duties with improved health."

At the annual meeting of the Corporation, June 10, 1829, Colonel Perkins, having declined a re-election, was thanked for "his faithful services in the office of President for five years last past, and for the interest which he has uniformly manifested in the concerns of this institution." Francis C. Gray, Esq., was elected a Trustee in place of Joseph Head, Esq., who also declined a re-election, and was thanked "for his long, zealous, and faithful services." Hon. John Lowell was then elected President ; and Gardiner Greene, Esq., Vice-President. July 7, Ebenezer Francis was elected Chairman of the Trustees. All the medical

and surgical appointments, &c., were the same as last year, except that Dr. John Randall was elected a Consulting Physician in the place of Dr. Spooner, who had resigned.

Joseph Sweetser, a lessee of Benjamin Joy, Esq., having erected a brick-kiln in and over the fifty-foot way adjoining the north side of the land in Charlestown, in violation of the rights of this institution, the Secretary was directed to request Mr. Joy to remove the same. Counsel was employed, and a hearing had before Chief Justice Parker at his chambers, July 20, on an application for a writ of injunction. The result was, that the burning of the kiln was permitted; Mr. Joy executing a bond in penalty of two thousand dollars, that no similar trespass should again be allowed, and conditioned to remove all obstructions, &c., in sixty days.

On Aug. 9, 1829, the same Clerk and Supervisor were re-elected. Aug. 23, Mr. Francis Dana, jun., was elected a House Physician of the Hospital for the ensuing year. Aug. 28, the Board of Visitors, his Excellency Governor Lincoln, &c., visited. His Excellency again "expressed his sense of the order and neatness, and the arrangements for the comfort, convenience, and safety of the patients, which were everywhere visible." Sept. 27, Drs. Walter Channing and John Ware were appointed Assistant Physicians, on

nomination of Dr. James Jackson; and Mr. Lucius W. Caryl, a House Physician, on nomination of Dr. Warren. Mr. Ticknor and the Secretary were appointed a Committee on the subject of rules and regulations. Messrs. Francis, Gray, Lawrence, Ticknor, and the Secretary, were appointed a Committee on the accounts of repairs and expenditures at the Asylum. The Treasurer was authorized to borrow seven thousand dollars more.

John Williams, "a colored man," having been admitted into the Hospital, under permit of Dr. George W. Otis, dated Sept. 19, it was voted that Dr. Otis be requested to state in writing to this Board the circumstances which, in his opinion, constituted this a case of emergency within the meaning of second article of second chapter of the rules and regulations. Oct. 6, the Committee on rules and regulations reported certain provisions for officers to be known as House Physician, House Surgeon, and Apothecary, with a detail of the duties to be performed by each. Oct. 9, Dr. Otis's answer was received, stating that he had never before seen a copy of the rules and regulations, and that he did *not* think the case referred to was one of emergency within the meaning of those rules.

On Nov. 22, General Cobb being now a patient in the Hospital, where he subsequently died, a bill of

Dr. Channing for extra services rendered him was referred to the Visiting Committee, who, after consultation with Drs. Jackson and Channing, approved the same. General Cobb was an aid of Washington's in the revolutionary war. At the time of Shays's insurrection, he was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Major-General of that division of the militia. The rioters assembled to prevent the opening of the Court. General Cobb addressed them, and closed his remarks as follows: "Please God, I will this day sit as a Judge, or die as a General."

Dec. 20, *five dollars* was contributed towards the new plank sidewalk in Blossom-street. There were, on Dec. 22, thirty-six males and fifteen females — total, fifty-one — in the Hospital. Jan. 8, 1830, the Committee report that the whole expenditures at the Asylum from 1826 are, for the wharf, \$1,147.32; well, \$215.75; and for "general improvements," \$96,822.33; — that this expenditure has been "for the building called the lodge, or strong rooms; for the large building connected with the former building for males; a new roof to the dwelling-house, with the addition of another story to the centre of it, and great repairs, even to the foundation wall; the necessary alterations in the old building for males, caused by adding the new one; also new water-closets, and brick partition-walls, and other improvements

in the former building for males; improvements in the ventilation of the buildings both for males and females; the addition of a large wash-room, new kitchen, and extensive cooking apparatus; for removing the earth, forming and laying-out the grounds, erecting several buildings in the yard, and a great extent of fences in forming and dividing the yards." The buildings, even now, with this great expenditure, were not completed. It would seem probable, that at least sixty-five thousand dollars of the above must be assigned as the cost of the addition to the male building. Much of the work was varied from time to time when in progress, as important objections or improvements were suggested. A plan was ordered of this new building, with all its flues, &c. A precisely similar addition to the female wing was subsequently constructed; and, by means of the prior experience acquired, it cost but forty-three thousand five hundred dollars.

Feb. 7, the Treasurer was authorized to consolidate all former loans in a new loan of fifty thousand dollars, on pledge of the shares in the Life Insurance Company. Hon. Jonathan Phillips was thanked for a present of books for the library. John Braser Davis, Esq., editor of the "Patriot," was thanked for his paper furnished for the use of the patients. Feb. 21, Mr. Gurney's intended marriage was announced, and

the subject was referred to Dr. Robbins and the Visiting Committee. Dr. George Hayward was elected to the office of Junior Surgeon. March 21, Mr. Gurney announced that his intended wife had consented to reside at the Hospital. The wedding was subsequently celebrated in fine style; the House Physicians, &c., officiating as groomsmen. Many patients were present at the wedding visit. It was a gay scene, — one seldom witnessed in a Hospital. Messrs. Gray, Ticknor, and the Secretary were appointed a Committee to make an entirely new draft of the rules and regulations; whose reports were accepted, May 9 and 23, for the Hospital and Asylum respectively. They were prepared with great care and labor, each paragraph being discussed and considered, and the whole being finally read by the Trustees, and by the Physicians and Surgeons. These rules and regulations are recorded *in extenso*, occupying twenty pages. One important change introduced was, that, though each Trustee should serve for two months on the Visiting Committee, one Trustee should go out each month, so that there should always be one member of the Committee informed of the existing state of affairs. This arrangement has always since continued. May 9, Messrs. Gray, Greene, and Robbins were appointed a Committee to prepare the annual report. This report I have

never met with. June 24, there were eighteen males and thirteen females — total, thirty-one — in the Hospital.

At the annual meeting, July 6, 1830, Hon. John Lowell retiring from the Presidency, Gardiner Greene was elected in his stead, and Joseph Head was elected Vice-President in place of Mr. Greene. Josiah Quincy, jun., was elected a Trustee in place of William H. Gardiner, Esq.; and the officers who retired were thanked for their faithful services. Benjamin D. Greene and James Bowdoin were new Trustees, chosen by the Board of Visitors in August. Mr. Bowdoin declining, Hon. Heman Lincoln was elected by that Board in January, 1831; and, he also declining, Mr. George Bond was elected in February, 1831. Aug. 27, the annual visitation was made, and Governor Lincoln again expressed "his entire satisfaction."

At a special meeting, Aug. 30, a bequest of the late Jeremiah Belknap, of ten thousand dollars, invested in an annuity in trust in the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, was communicated by his sister and executrix, Mary Belknap; which was gratefully accepted, and a free bed for life was thereupon placed at her disposal. Dr. Henry I. Bowditch was chosen House Physician for the ensuing year, on nomination of Dr. James Jackson. Mr. Dana, the

late House Physician, presented a written certificate of satisfactory deportment in office from the Acting Physician. A similar certificate from the Superintendent was held necessary before the Board felt authorized to vote the annual grant of fifty dollars, pursuant to the rules and regulations. Oct. 5, Mr. Bond resigned as Supervisor; and, on the 8th, Mr. Columbus Tyler was appointed his successor. After the lapse of twenty years, he is still one of the most valuable officers of the institution.

On Oct. 21, a letter from Thomas Lee, administrator of Francis Lee, a deceased patient, was received and read, communicating a gift from his father, Joseph Lee, Esq., sole heir of said deceased, of twenty thousand dollars for the use of the Asylum (\$250 a year for four years to be paid to Dr. Wyman). The writer says: "In frequent visits to the Asylum, during nearly two years that the deceased was a patient, his friends, having become acquainted with the admirable provision made for the alleviation and cure of one of the most severe afflictions that befall human nature, and appreciating the rare union of the requisite qualities possessed by the present Superintendent (Dr. Wyman), believe that a more appropriate or better use cannot be made of a portion of his estate, than by contributing to the support of this well-administered and most humane institution. They feel at the same

time that they do but carry into effect what might have been the views of the deceased, had the power been restored to him of acting for himself. That this may long escape the abuses to which the best public institutions seem so liable, and never want the means to accomplish its benevolent ends, under the guardianship of those whose characters are a pledge for the faithful application of the trusts reposed in them, is the wish of the donor, and, gentlemen, of yours," &c. It was thereupon voted to accept this munificent donation; and Messrs. Lawrence, Guild, and the Secretary were appointed a Committee to communicate to Mr. Lee "the grateful acknowledgments of the Board."

This donation consisted of twelve shares in the Eliot Manufacturing Company, and of eight shares in the Merrimack Company, under the restriction not to sell the same for ten years, except with the consent of Joseph Lee, Esq. On Oct. 23, a written answer, prepared by the Committee, was entered on the records, signed by all the Trustees, and sent to Mr. Lee. Messrs. Lawrence and Francis were appointed a Committee as to the investment or expenditure of the income of this donation. Dec. 5, a letter was received from Dr. Wyman, declining the donation of Mr. Lee, on the general and high-minded ground of the impropriety of receiving presents from any

boarder or his friends. The Committee reported that a separate investment should be made of the income of this fund; and that, when it should be "sufficient to defray the expense of a solid, permanent building, the same shall be erected at the M'Lean Asylum for the Insane in Charlestown, and shall bear the name of the benevolent donor."

On Dec. 19, the Treasurer was authorized to borrow ten thousand dollars for four months. Dec. 31, thirty males, eighteen females — total, forty-eight — in the Hospital. Jan. 30, 1831, Messrs. Francis, Codman, and Lawrence were appointed a Committee respecting a Lying-in Hospital, in answer to a communication from the Trustees of the Humane Society. Feb. 13, at the request of Mr. Francis, he was discharged, and Mr. Quincy substituted on said Committee. At this meeting, Messrs. Francis and Lawrence were appointed a Committee to wait on Miss Mary Belknap, sister of Jeremiah Belknap, Esq., and on the relatives of Joseph Lee, Esq., to ask for their portraits; and said Committee, at the next meeting, reported that "no portraits of Mr. Belknap or Mr. Lee are in possession of their relatives." On Feb. 22, the executors and devisees of the late Joseph Lee presented five additional shares in the Eliot Manufacturing Company, to make up a depreciation in the ascertained value of the twelve shares in said Com-

pany originally given ; which additional donation was gratefully received on the same conditions. These shares experienced a still further depreciation, and the amount finally realized from the whole seventeen thousand dollars of the Eliot shares was only one thousand and eight dollars. The Merrimack shares, however, paid very large dividends ; the whole amount actually received from both sources, taking the Merrimack shares at par, being \$31,681.33. A separate account of this fund was kept till 1851, when, with allowance of interest on the dividends, it exceeded forty-five thousand dollars. A donation had meanwhile been received from Mr. Appleton, for the erection of a new building at the Asylum, so that it became impracticable to carry out literally the design of the preceding votes ; and the Trustees proposed to give the name of Mr. Lee to the main building for male patients, that in which his son died. The whole subject was finally and satisfactorily arranged at that time.

On Feb. 27, 1831, the decision of the Supreme Judicial Court in regard to the M'Lean trust-fund was communicated ; and on April 8, in reply to a request that the Board would consent that the fund should be managed by *one* Trustee, the Board say : " If the will of Mr. M'Lean requires the appointment of two Trustees, they cannot, consistently with their

duty, acquiesce in the appointment of one. May 8, Messrs. Greene, Quincy, and Phillips were appointed to prepare the annual report; and, on May 22, Gray and Lawrence were substituted for Greene and Phillips, who were absent. This report is believed not to be extant.

June 8, 1831, at the annual meeting of the Corporation, George Hallet was elected a Trustee in place of Ebenezer Francis, Esq., who was thanked for "his long, faithful, and peculiarly valuable services as a Trustee of this institution, to which office he has declined a re-election." July 3, the same immediate officers were all re-elected. July 5, Edward Tuckerman was chosen Chairman of the Trustees. July 8, Drs. Jacob Bigelow, John Randall, George C. Shattuck, and Abraham R. Thompson, were chosen Consulting Physicians; and Drs. William Ingalls, John B. Brown, John Dixwell, and William J. Walker, Consulting Surgeons. July 24, Thomas Sparhawk was elected House Physician; and, on Aug. 21, Samuel Swett, jun., House Surgeon. Sept. 2, the annual visitation was made, nine Trustees being also present. His Excellency Governor Lincoln alluded to the appropriation for the Asylum at Worcester, as an unequivocal expression of public opinion that the McLean Asylum had been completely successful. Sept. 20, a donation from John P. Cushing, Esq., of

five thousand dollars, was received, and gratefully acknowledged. Rejoice Newton, Esq., was appointed agent to make any arrangement with the executors of Isaiah Thomas.

On Feb. 12, 1832, communications from Dr. Jackson and Mr. Gurney were received, stating seven cases of erysipelas in the Hospital, one of which had terminated fatally; and the subject was referred to the Visiting Committee, with full powers. They discontinued all new admissions till March 5. Feb. 26, a donation of one thousand dollars from John C. Gray was received, and gratefully acknowledged. A letter from Amos Lawrence, Esq., resigning his office of Trustee on the ground of ill health, was received; and a vote was passed, expressing the sense which the Board had of the value of his services, and their best wishes for his restoration to health. April 29, Messrs. Codman, Gray, and Hallet were appointed a Committee to prepare the annual report; but it has not been preserved.

On May 17, Dr. Wyman tendered his resignation on the ground of ill health. The Chairman, with Messrs. Hallet and Quincy, were appointed a Committee to confer with him, and make any arrangement. The Treasurer was ordered to pay five hundred dollars, voted Feb. 5, 1826, to Dr. Wyman, for his extra services, with interest; he having never yet

received the same. May 20, a letter from Dr. Wyman thanked the Trustees for the regard and kindness manifested towards him and his family. The Committee reported that Dr. Wyman was to be for a time absent; and, "believing that the services of Dr. William J. Walker during that time would be highly valuable to the institution," they requested him "to visit it as often as he could, consistently with his other engagements."

At the annual meeting, June 13, 1832, Abbott Lawrence, Esq., was elected a Trustee in place of his brother, Amos Lawrence, who was thanked "for his zealous and faithful services during several successive years." The annual meeting was altered to the fourth Wednesday in January; so that the Trustees now chosen served only about six months. The Board of Visitors elected Thomas W. Ward in place of Jonathan Phillips; but, he not accepting, Samuel T. Armstrong was elected in August. The same Board of Physicians and Surgeons and the same officers were re-elected. July 12, Henry Codman, as Chairman of a Committee to reply to a communication received from Hon. Charles Wells the Mayor, reported in favor of receiving cholera patients in the Hospital, in case the City Hospital, specially prepared, should be filled, and not otherwise.

July 17, it was voted that a Matron be employed

at the Asylum during the illness of Dr. Wyman. At a special meeting, Aug. 1, Dr. Wyman again requested the Trustees to accept his resignation; and the Visiting Committee were instructed to make a report on the next day. Mr. Lyman Bartlett was chosen House Physician; and Mr. James B. Greger-son, House Apothecary. Aug. 2, Dr. Wyman's resignation was accepted (with the view, doubtless, of relieving him from his feeling of responsibility); he still to reside at the Asylum. Dr. Walker was requested to continue his services. Aug. 23, the salary of the Physician and Superintendent at Asylum was to be henceforth twelve hundred dollars. Aug. 27, Mr. John Odin, jun., was chosen House Surgeon. Aug. 31, the annual visitation was made by his Excellency Governor Lincoln and the Board of Visitors. Sept. 19, the duties of Physician and Superintendent were ordered to be separated. Dr. Wyman was elected Physician, with a salary, fixed at the next meeting, of fifteen hundred dollars. In other words, he was so highly appreciated that the Board thought themselves fortunate in securing his services for one only of the offices, at a price greater than they believed those of any other person could be worth who should fill both situations.

And now was communicated to the Board the most magnificent bequest, with one single exception, which

has ever been bestowed upon it. Messrs. John and Andrew E. Belknap, and Joseph Head, jun., executors of the will of Miss Mary Belknap, then recently deceased, presented a copy of her will, making this Corporation her residuary devisee. This residue amounted to \$88,602. It was most gratefully accepted by the Trustees.

The extent to which this Board is indebted to the good will and kind offices of the late Joseph Head, may be inferred from the following facts. There existed between him and the late Jeremiah Belknap, Esq., the most intimate friendship. He had unbounded influence over him, and gladly directed his bounty, and eventually that of his sister, towards this institution, as he had formerly done in the case of Thomas Oliver. There is no one, indeed, whose portrait is better entitled to a place at the Hospital, among the ranks of its chief benefactors and most faithful officers, than that of Mr. Head. It is a curious fact that a portrait of Mr. Belknap was painted for the Hospital by the late Henry Sargent, *from looking at Mr. Head*. Mr. Belknap and Mr. Head, at a certain hour of each day, often walked together; and Mr. Sargent, to refresh his recollection of how Mr. Belknap used to look, was in the habit of going out and meeting Mr. Head when he was walking alone, that his imagination and his pencil

might be thus aided in recalling the features of Mr. Head's former companion. The likeness is by no means perfect; yet, I think, all who knew Mr. Belknap would feel sure that it was intended for him.

On Oct. 3, Captain Luke Bigelow, of Lancaster, was chosen Superintendent, with a salary of seven hundred dollars. Oct. 9, Mr. Rufus Wyman, jun., was requested to act until his arrival. Oct. 21, an extra grant was made to Mr. Tyler for his services during Dr. Wyman's illness, and his salary was raised to a thousand dollars. On the nomination of Dr. Wyman, Miss Mary Sawyer, of Stirling, was appointed to the new office of Supervisor of the female department. She subsequently married Mr. Tyler, and is now the efficient, or I may rather say truly admirable, matron of the establishment. New rules and regulations at the Asylum, as modified by the late changes of offices, &c., were adopted at this meeting, and recorded.

On Nov. 4, the executors of Miss Belknap transmitted a list of the residuary property, amounting to \$72,852 in personal estate: Land and buildings, Nos. 26 and 28, Washington-street, then valued at \$12,000; ditto, 73, Broad-street, valued at \$3,750; making the total of \$88,602. The Broad-street Estate was sold in 1834 to Samuel Sanford for \$4,700. The greatly increased value of the Washington-street

Estate, which is still owned by the Corporation, makes the total bequest at least one hundred thousand dollars. The Board voted that a bond of indemnity should be delivered to the executors on the transfer of this property, and a full receipt and discharge given to their satisfaction. Nov. 18, Dr. Robbins was appointed a Committee of advisement for the Treasurer, in regard to the sale and disposition of the property thus received.

On Dec. 14, Dr. Robbins, as Visiting Committee, recommended greater vigilance in admitting as patients those persons who ought to go to South Boston, — a most important suggestion. Dec. 16, Dr. William J. Walker having "visited at the Asylum, during seven months, four or five times each week," the Trustees request his acceptance of six hundred dollars, as a small acknowledgment, on the part of this Board, of the zeal and fidelity with which he discharged the duties of Physician and Superintendent during the illness of Dr. Wyman. One hundred dollars was also granted to Dr. D. Davis, the resident assistant, for his services at this period.

Mr. Francis informs me, that one of the young medical men selected to assist Dr. Wyman in keeping his accounts (several years before this period) received the appointment, principally because the Trustees were delighted with his letter of application, which

was the most exquisite specimen of penmanship that they had ever beheld. He entered on his duties, and was found to write a most illegible hand. He was asked whether that letter was his own unaided composition. He replied that it was. "But," added he, "I did not *write* it, — I *painted* it." It was, indeed, the elaborate production of an *artist*, executed with great delicacy by means of a *hair-pencil*.

The Treasurer presented the following exhibit of the property of the institution: —

Turnpike shares	\$200.00
Life-office stock	50,000.00
Trust-policy under will of William Phillips . . .	5,000.00
" " " " Jeremiah Belknap . . .	10,000.00
Joseph Lee's donation, estimated at	20,000.00
Mary Belknap's legacy	88,602.00
A note	167.91
	<hr/>
	\$173,969.91
Debts due	61,000.00
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Leaving	\$112,969.91

The general receipts are stated as follows: —

Donations and legacies	\$411,927.73
Thomas Oliver's legacy (subject to \$1,300 annuity) .	22,938.70
Donation of Joseph Lee, and accumulation of do. .	22,140.00
Received on account of Isaiah Thomas's bequest . .	1,307.00
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	\$458,313.43

The permanent expenditures, as follows:

Land and buildings of Hospital in Boston	\$144,498.91
" " " of M'Lean Asylum .	188,422.22
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	332,921.13
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Balance	\$125,392.30

Board of free patients from 1822 to 1832, estimated at \$3 per week	\$36,590.25
Donations for free beds, including income of the bequests of Wm. Phillips and Jeremiah Belknap for that object, since 1822	29,405.94
Balance	<u>\$7,184.31</u>
Income for 1833 estimated at \$12,547.	
Expenditures ,, ,, at 11,040.	

On Dec. 30, Messrs. Greene, Quincy, and Bond were appointed a Committee to prepare the annual report. Jan. 8, 1833, a bequest of Miss Margaret Tucker of \$2,600, for perpetual support of a free bed at the Hospital, was announced and gratefully accepted. It was not paid over till 1842.

Jan. 11, it was ordered that no free beds should be occupied by the same persons over three months, except on special vote of the Trustees.

Jan. 20, a letter from Dr. William J. Walker was received and read, expressing his gratitude for the favorable opinion entertained by the Board and for the liberal compensation voted him, and requesting their acceptance of a donation of four hundred dollars. The Secretary was directed to assure Dr. Walker of the high gratification afforded to the Trustees by this new proof of his regard for the institution.

The annual report for this year, signed by Mr. Tuckerman the Chairman, also by the Committee, is about six pages long. It states the interesting fact,

that Dr. Wyman had for fourteen years passed only five nights away from the Asylum, and the measures taken to lighten his duties, and thus restore his health ; alludes to the numerous recent proofs of public confidence, and the noble donation of Miss Belknap ; and suggests (what has since been executed), that, whenever an additional wing shall be erected for female patients, "it would be a compliment signally appropriate to give the name of this great benefactress to that part of the establishment which is particularly devoted to the benefit of her sex ;" but states that the erection of such a building now would absorb the whole funds of the institution. It speaks of the valuable services and the gratifying donation of Dr. Walker.

The result of this period is, that during no previous term of five years had the donations been more numerous or munificent. There had been received bequests from the late William Phillips, Jeremiah Belknap, and his sister Miss Mary Belknap, Joseph Lee and his devisees, Miss Margaret Tucker, and Isaiah Thomas ; and donations from John P. Cushing, John C. Gray, Thomas B. Wales, Henry Codman, Dr. William J. Walker, &c., — which, in the aggregate, amounted to nearly a hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

A hundred thousand dollars had been expended in

improvements at the Asylum, and a debt of sixty thousand dollars contracted in making these improvements. But it was forthwith to be paid off out of the more recent of the donations just received. The pecuniary position of the institution at this time is exactly stated in the summary in preceding page. The institution still retained, at the head of its two departments, the services of Dr. Wyman and of Mr. Gurney. Mr. and Mrs. Tyler had become officers of the Asylum. The same medical and surgical staff continued to discharge their duties. The narrow escape of the Hospital from destruction by fire was not the least of the fortunate events of this period.

The number of patients in the Hospital was, at the close of this year, thirty-two males, twenty females, — total, fifty-two; and, at the Asylum, twenty-seven males, twenty-four females, — total, fifty-one. Thus the usefulness and reputation of the institution had continued steadily to increase; and it had attained to a degree of prosperity which must have been highly gratifying alike to its original founders and to those who now had its management and control.

CHAPTER VI.

1833—1837.

DEATH OF GARDINER GREENE, PRESIDENT. — RESIGNATION OF MR. GURNEY. — CHOICE OF GAMALIEL BRADFORD. — FINAL RESIGNATION OF DR. WYMAN, AND CHOICE OF DR. THOMAS G. LEE. — COLUMBUS TYLER ELECTED STEWARD OF ASYLUM. — SERVICES OF MRS. TYLER. — BEQUEST OF JONATHAN MOSELEY. — PORTRAIT OF THOMAS OLIVER. — RESIGNATION OF JOSEPH HEAD, PRESIDENT. — GEORGE BOND, CHAIRMAN. — DIET AT HOSPITAL. — FREE BEDS FOR LIFE. — BEQUEST OF MISS SUSAN RICHARDSON. — PIANO-FORTE AND BILLIARD-TABLE AT ASYLUM. — TRUSTEES' MEETING: NOBODY PRESENT. — DEATH OF DR. LEE, AND VOTES OF TRUSTEES. — DR. LUTHER V. BELL ELECTED HIS SUCCESSOR. — COLORED PATIENT. — INTERESTING REPORT OF S. A. ELIOT ON OCCASION OF NON-OBSERVANCE OF RULES AND REGULATIONS. — RESIGNATION OF DR. JAMES JACKSON: HIS CHARACTER AND SERVICES. — RESIGNATION OF MR. RUSSELL THE TREASURER, AND CHOICE OF HENRY ANDREWS. — SUMMARY. — GREAT CHANGES OF THE OFFICERS. — DONATIONS ONLY A THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR THE FIVE YEARS.

AT the annual meeting, Jan. 23, 1833, it was voted, "That this Corporation entertain a grateful recollection of the zealous and faithful services of the late Gardiner Greene, Esq., in the offices of a Trustee and President of this institution;" also voted, "That the thanks of this Corporation be presented to Joseph Coolidge, Esq., who, for many successive years, from the first establishment of the institution to the present time, has held the office of a Trustee, discharging his duties with the utmost zeal and fidelity, and to which office he has declined a re-election." Francis J. Oli-

ver, Esq., was elected by the Board of Visitors a Trustee in the place of Mr. Coolidge, and the Board was organized as follows: Joseph Head, President; Ebenezer Francis, Vice-President; Nathaniel P. Russell, Treasurer; Nathaniel I. Bowditch, Secretary. Henry Codman, Francis C. Gray, Benjamin Guild, George Hallet, Abbott Lawrence, Josiah Quincy, jun., Edward H. Robbins, and Edward Tuckerman, Trustees, on the part of the Corporation; and Samuel T. Armstrong, George Bond, Benjamin D. Greene, and Francis J. Oliver, Trustees, on the part of the Board of Visitors. Feb. 17, all the medical and other officers of the last year were re-elected.

Richard S. Roberts applied for leave to remove a blind placed against the window of his house in Fruit Court, overlooking the Hospital garden. March 3, William B. Shaw was appointed Apothecary, and Rufus Wyman, jun., Clerk at the Asylum. July 5, Mr. Roberts was allowed to have a window with a reversed blind. Aug. 11, Dr. F. H. Gray was appointed House Physician; and, on Sept. 8, Dr. Henry Tuck, House Surgeon; Mr. Benjamin F. Parker, House Apothecary.

On Sept. 13, Nathan Gurney, Esq., tendered his resignation as Superintendent of the Hospital, to take effect in November next. This resignation was accepted; and it was voted, "That, in accepting this

resignation, the Trustees would express to Mr. Gurney their sense of the zeal and ability with which he has discharged the duties of his office, and their regret that his valuable services must cease in so short a time. They have seen his energy, decision, and good judgment; his kindness and attention to the patients; his skill and economy in managing the concerns of the establishment, and the order, regularity, and neatness which have always been preserved there; and they have esteemed themselves fortunate in the selection of one who united in so high a degree the various qualifications for the situation, and who, with the power, possessed also the disposition, to promote the best interests of the department of the institution confided to his care. The Trustees would therefore assure Mr. Gurney, that they have always been entirely satisfied with his efforts in their cause, and that he will retire from office with their best wishes for his future happiness." Mr. Gurney subsequently became an alderman of the city of Boston, and died, not long since, one of our most highly-respected citizens.

On Oct. 8, Benjamin D. Greene, Esq., resigned his situation as a Trustee, in view of an intended absence in Europe. He was, however, re-elected the ensuing year. Oct. 11, all the Board were present except Mr. Codman, who was ill. Gamaliel Bradford, M.D. was unanimously elected Superintendent of the Hospital.

The Belknap Estate in Washington-street was leased for ten years at a rent of nine hundred dollars. It was at first rented for seven hundred dollars. It has since been rebuilt, and rents for fifteen hundred dollars. Dec. 1, where a patient remains less than one day, one dollar is to be charged. Dec. 15, the Chairman, Messrs. Oliver, Codman, and the Visiting Committee, were desired to consider the expediency of erecting a new building at the Asylum. Dec. 23, Messrs. Gray, Quincy, and Bond were appointed a Committee to draw up the annual report.

This report was prepared by Josiah Quincy, jun., as Chairman, and occupied nine pages; and, with the documents annexed, makes a pamphlet of twenty-three pages. It gives a detailed and very interesting and satisfactory account of both departments of the Hospital; states the invested property of the institution to be \$113,750, — including, however, the Eliot shares of seventeen thousand dollars, which realized but a thousand and eight, so that the actual amount is a hundred and two or a hundred and three thousand dollars; shows that its annual expenses render it still in need of continued assistance and support; alludes to the prominent events of the year; speaks of the “universal satisfaction” given by Mr. Gurney; and mentions the election of Dr. Bradford, “who has given pledges of being entitled to the high

praise of fully supplying the place of his predecessor." The number of patients in the Hospital at the close of the year were twenty-seven males, twenty-four females,—total, fifty-one; in the Asylum, forty males, twenty-four females,—total, sixty-four. It contains a table of all the admissions at the Asylum, viz.: In 1818, nine; in 1819, twenty-six; 1820, twenty-eight; 1821, thirty-three; 1822, forty-five; 1823, thirty-nine; 1824, thirty-three; 1825, twenty-nine; 1826, twenty-three; 1827, thirty-one; 1828, forty-eight; 1829, thirty-seven; 1830, forty-seven; 1831, forty-five; 1832, sixty-five; 1833, sixty-six: total, 1,015, with various tables, showing proportions of recoveries, &c.; the total of those removed in that period being 948, out of which 362 were recovered.

Jan. 8, 1834, the Board express great satisfaction with the services of Miss Sawyer [Mrs. Tyler], and raised her salary to two hundred dollars. A memorial from the Physicians and Surgeons as to a new building or wing at the Hospital was received and referred. Eleven years afterwards, such a building was erected. Jan. 19, Mr. Hallet resigned his seat as a Trustee.

At the annual meeting, Jan. 29, Charles G. Loring and Samuel A. Eliot, Esqs., were chosen Trustees in place of George Hallet and Benjamin Guild, Esqrs., who had resigned, and who were thanked for their zealous and faithful services. Jan. 23, the Board of

Medical and Surgical Officers, and the heads of the two departments, were re-elected; Henry A. True being Apothecary at the Asylum. On March 9, Mr. Luke Bigelow resigned his office as Superintendent of the Asylum. April 16, Messrs. Tuckerman and Quincy were appointed a Committee on the subject of any new arrangements at that institution, who on May 18 made a report, which was accepted. This directs that the head of the institution be known as the Physician and Superintendent; that an Assistant Physician be chosen, with a salary of seven hundred dollars; and likewise a Steward having the salary heretofore paid to the Superintendent. Luke Bigelow was then elected Steward; and Dr. Thomas G. Lee, of Hartford, Assistant Physician.

On July 8, the Secretary was appointed a Committee to look into the title of the Corporation to land bought of Mr. Joy, and to confer with Mr. Loring respecting measures which may be thought necessary to procure a release of the condition contained in the deed. It was found impracticable to get a release executed at this time. July 11, the application of Eliza Bryant for leave to erect a building on Fruit-street, with windows opening on the Hospital-ground, was declined. A copy of the will of Jonathan Moseley, making this Corporation residuary legatee, was received; and a legacy, informally given by a codicil,

was confirmed. July 11, Lieutenant-Governor Armstrong resigned his office of Trustee, and was thanked by the Board for his valuable services.

On July 20, a very elaborate and excellent report from Mr. Eliot was entered on the records, defining the relative duties of the Superintendent and of the Physicians, &c., of the Hospital. It concludes thus : "Much must be left to the discretion of those who hold responsible stations ; and, having expressed their general views of the subject, — having stated, as it were, their theory of the government of the institution, the Trustees must leave the application of them to the good sense and good feelings of the present incumbents, with the single intimation, that they consider harmony of action in the officers essential to the prosperity of the Hospital." Copies of this report were ordered to be transmitted to the Superintendent and to the Medical and Surgical Officers.

On Aug. 17, Mr. Estes Howe was elected House Physician, and Aug. 31, Mr. Stephen Salisbury, House Surgeon for the year ensuing. Oct. 10, Mrs. Lee, the widow of the late John M'Lean, having deceased, the Treasurer was authorized to receive a transfer of the property now belonging to the Corporation, which had been held in trust during her life. Nov. 23, Luke Bigelow resigned the office of Steward at the Asylum. Dec. 21, Messrs. Greene, Codman,

and Oliver were appointed a Committee to prepare the annual report. Of this report I do not possess a copy. Mr. William Wyman was elected Steward of the Asylum. Mr. Wyman was a very intelligent man and efficient officer. He has since been a representative from the town of Cambridge. He has always taken great interest in the institution. The estate in Broad-street, devised by Miss Belknap, was ordered to be sold by the Treasurer.

On Jan. 9, 1835, — “whereas Dr. Wyman has repeatedly and earnestly requested to be relieved from his arduous and responsible duties as soon as the interests of the M'Lean Asylum will admit, and the Trustees feel it a duty to him to fix a time for his retirement, in order to give him an opportunity to make suitable arrangements for the future, — voted that his resignation be respectfully accepted, to take effect on May 1 next. Voted, that, in consideration of his long, zealous, and unwearied exertions during sixteen years, — in the commencement of an institution then novel in this part of the country, and in conducting it to its present prosperous state, — the sum of one thousand dollars be granted to him and paid by the Treasurer:” and, on Jan. 16, Dr. Thomas G. Lee, Assistant Physician, was promoted to his post, with the same salary and privileges as had been enjoyed by his predecessor; and he was requested “not

to confine himself too strictly to his duties, or debar himself from the enjoyment of social intercourse with his friends, or to neglect that occasional relaxation by which his health may be improved and preserved." Mr. Columbus Tyler was promoted to the office of Steward, which he still so acceptably continues to hold.

At the annual meeting, Jan. 28, Henry Andrews, Esq., was elected Treasurer. It was voted, "That the thanks of this Corporation be presented to Hon. N. P. Russell, who, for fourteen years past, has gratuitously discharged the duties of Treasurer of this institution, with great zeal, ability, and usefulness; he having declined a re-election to that office." It was also voted, "That the thanks of this Corporation be presented to Henry Codman, Esq., who has declined a re-election as Trustee; he having, in that office and in the office of Secretary, been connected with the institution for eighteen years past, and having always promoted its interests with the greatest zeal and fidelity." Dr. Wyman was then elected a Trustee in the place of Mr. Codman; but, he being present at the meeting and declining, Thomas B. Curtis, Esq., was elected. John P. Thorndike, Esq., was elected a Trustee by the Board of Visitors, in the place of Mr. Armstrong. It was also voted, "That the thanks of this Corporation be presented by their Secretary to

Dr. Rufus Wyman for the zeal, ability, and faithfulness with which, from the establishment of the M'Lean Asylum for the Insane, he has filled the office of Physician and Superintendent, with the assurance that this Corporation feel bound to declare that these qualities have mainly contributed to raise the reputation of the institution to its present respectable standing, and have equally elevated his own character in his profession and as a philanthropist."

On Feb. 8, the same officers of the two institutions, and Visiting Physicians and Surgeons, were re-elected ; Drs. George B. Doane and Solomon D. Townsend being elected Consulting Surgeons in place of Drs. Ingalls and Dixwell. March 22, certain changes were made in the duties of the Physicians and Surgeons, in accordance with a report of Messrs. Quincy, Eliot, and Robbins, a Committee to whom had been referred a communication from Dr. James Jackson. April 26, the Treasurer was authorized to overdraw one thousand dollars at the Suffolk Bank. Renewed discussions were had, as to a new building at the Hospital and at the Asylum, at this and the next meetings. May 17, Charles K. Whipple was chosen Apothecary at the Hospital ; and Dr. J. B. S. Jackson, Assistant Physician.

On July 7, the widow of Mr. Oliver being deceased, certain final payments of legacies were ordered, and a

full discharge directed to be given to his executors. Oct. 4, Mr. Eliot was requested to report plans and estimates of a new building at the Asylum; and, on the 25th, he was authorized to engage the services of Mr. M'Allister for the erection of the same. Nov. 8, it was voted that the thanks of the Board be presented to the executors of Mrs. Prescott for the portrait of their late distinguished benefactor, Thomas Oliver, Esq. Mrs. Prescott was his widow; and the portrait thus given is in the Trustees' room at the Hospital. It is not a fine painting, and is said not to be a very good likeness. It is, however, valuable as being a portrait taken from life, of and for himself, and the only portrait of him which has been preserved.

Nov. 22, Mr. Homer Goodhue was chosen Supervisor, of which post he has always continued to discharge the duties in a most acceptable manner. Messrs. Eliot and Thorndike were appointed the Building Committee for the new building at the Asylum, and twenty-eight thousand dollars placed at their disposal. Dec. 6, the salary of the Superintendent of the Hospital was increased from five to six hundred dollars; this arrangement to include the present year. On Jan. 8, 1836, Messrs. Gray, Eliot, and Quincy were appointed a Committee to draw up the annual report.

The report, as prepared by Mr. Gray, had in a strik-

ing degree the merit of brevity. It was one sentence of six lines, purporting, without any comment, to present certain annexed reports from the two departments of the institution. Among these documents, however, was a very important and valuable one from Dr. Lee, describing minutely the system of occupation, diversion, and moral management at the Asylum ; the Belknap Sewing Society ; the weekly dancing parties ; the religious service on the sabbath, &c. Of his assistants he says, "We will not continue any male or female attendant whom we cannot invite into our family, seat at our table, and with whom we could not confidently place our own wives, sisters, and brothers. We do not consider their service as servile : they are the companions of the unfortunate, engaged in the same employments as ourselves ; they shall command our friendship and respect." He adds, "I ask not for the institution or myself more devoted fellow-laborers." The whole forms a pamphlet of twenty-seven pages, twenty-three of which relate to the Asylum. It is one of the most important publications ever issued by the Trustees ; and it will be a lasting monument to the memory of Dr. Lee, who, before the close of the coming year, was summoned from the eminently faithful and successful discharge of one of the most responsible of all earthly trusts to the presence of that Heavenly Father, whose word had ever been his

delight, and by whose precepts his steps had ever been guided.

There had been discharged from the Hospital, during the year, one hundred and thirty-two males, sixty-one females, — total, one hundred and ninety-three; in the Asylum, May 1, fifty males, thirty-one females, — total, eighty-one.

At the annual meeting, Jan. 27, 1836, "Joseph Head, Esq., having declined a re-election to the office of President, — voted that the thanks of this Corporation be presented to him for the performance of those personal services, and the exercise of that influence with the community in favor of the institution, to which it is so largely indebted for its present state of prosperity." Abbott Lawrence and Edward H. Robbins, Trustees on the part of the Corporation, and Benjamin D. Greene and Francis J. Oliver, Trustees chosen by the Board of Visitors, having declined a re-election, were severally thanked for their services. Charles Amory and Samuel Lawrence were then elected by the Corporation, and Henry Edwards and Robert G. Shaw were subsequently chosen by the Board of Visitors to be Trustees; and the Corporation was now organized by the choice of Ebenezer Francis, President, and Samuel Appleton, Vice-President; and at the meeting of the Trustees, Feb. 7, George Bond, Esq., was made Chairman. Dr. Winslow Lewis, jun.,

was appointed a Consulting Surgeon, in place of Dr. John B. Brown. No other change was made in any of the appointments.

Mr. Hallet made application to purchase a free bed for life; and, on Feb. 21, a Committee was appointed to consider that general subject. On March 6, the Physicians and Surgeons were requested to report a system of diet for the patients; and, on March 20, their report was presented accordingly. Messrs. Eliot and Thorndike were then appointed a Committee to make an additional purchase of land near the Asylum, for a price not exceeding twenty thousand dollars. April 8, it was "voted that the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars be paid to Dr. Augustus A. Gould, in full for his services as Superintendent of the Hospital in the year 1829; and that the Secretary transmit to Dr. Gould a copy of this vote, with the assurance that it has been through inadvertence only that no earlier action has been had on the subject." April 24, certain new rules were adopted as to the admission of patients at the Hospital. May 8, Mr. Bowditch resigned the office of Secretary, which he had held during nine years; and, May 22, William Gray, Esq., was elected his successor.

On June 5, the price of free beds for life was fixed at such a sum as would be required by the annuity tables to purchase an annuity of one hundred dollars.

In July, a bequest of Susan Richardson was received, for the support of female free patients, amounting to \$250. July 5, Mr. Eliot was appointed a Committee to confer with Dr. Lee, "to hire or purchase a piano-forte for the Asylum, with appropriate music." Mr. Eliot and Mr. Lawrence were chosen a Committee to purchase a billiard-table for the Asylum, if they should consider it expedient. Both were purchased. July 8, Dr. John Ware tendered his resignation as a Physician of the Hospital, which was accepted, — the Board taking occasion to express their high sense of the value of his services; and Dr. Jacob Bigelow was appointed his successor, and has been annually re-elected to the present time. August 7, Morrill Wyman was chosen House Physician; and Samuel Parkman, House Surgeon of the Hospital. Aug. 21, six thousand five hundred dollars was appropriated for rebuilding the lodge for female patients at the Asylum; and the subject of erecting a dome on the new building at the Asylum was referred to Messrs. Gray and Quincy; and, on Sept. 4, six thousand dollars was appropriated for the same.

At a quarterly meeting, Oct. 7, *no member of the Board made his appearance.*

On Oct. 23, a special meeting was called, in consequence of the illness of Dr. Lee. Ten members were present. Dr. Jackson was requested to visit Dr.

Lee at Worcester, accompanied by the Chairman and Mr. Tuckerman. He died there, Oct. 29, at Dr. Woodward's. On the 30th, another special meeting was called, announcing Dr. Lee's death, at which a vote was adopted for attending the funeral; also the following, prepared by Mr. Eliot, viz.: —

“Voted, that the Board, while submitting in sorrow to the dispensations of Providence, cannot but feel deeply the loss which the institution under their care, and the public, have suffered in the lamented death of Dr. Lee. They had known him long enough to appreciate his talents, his attainments in his profession, his remarkable and entire devotion to the pursuit in which he had engaged, the beautiful purity of his character, the elevation of his views, and the propriety of the means by which he sought to attain the most worthy objects. They have often been struck with the soundness of his judgment and the kindness of his manners, and have perceived, in the institution of which he was the Superintendent, the happy influence of his professional skill, combined with the cheerfulness and gentleness of his deportment, and the piety which was the habitual guide of his life. After an association of nearly two years of an intimate character, they can say with truth that they have nothing to regret in their intercourse with him but its premature close. They had hoped to see

the M'Lean Asylum long increasing in usefulness under his care, and to witness the extension of his well-earned reputation for many years; and they cannot suffer him to pass to the grave, without paying a just tribute to his many admirable qualities, and his peculiar fitness for the station in which he was placed."

A vote was also adopted, expressive of their sympathy for his widow, and for defraying all expenses of his last illness, and payment of his salary to April 1; also a vote inviting the widow to remain at the Asylum as long as she might think proper. And it was voted, "That the thanks of the Board be presented to Dr. Woodward and his family, for their kindness and assiduous attention to Dr. Lee during the illness which terminated in his death."

This just and beautiful tribute to the memory of Dr. Lee renders any remark of mine unnecessary. He died at the early age of twenty-eight years, after an illness of only a few days.

Francis C. Gray, Esq., resigned the office of a Trustee, and was thanked for his services. Nov. 6, the subject of an additional building at the Hospital was discussed, and deferred for the present. The Superintendent was directed "to call on Mr. Tappan, and inform him that it will not be convenient to receive into the Hospital the colored man proposed to be sent

by him." Nov. 13, the rules as to the admission of patients were modified, and a salary of \$150 established for the office of Assistant Physician.

On Dec. 11, Dr. Luther V. Bell was unanimously elected Physician and Superintendent of the Asylum, "provided a Committee then appointed, consisting of Messrs. Eliot and Quincy, shall be satisfied that he will pursue the course of moral and religious treatment of patients adopted by Dr. Lee, and they shall be so satisfied before communicating the appointment." By requiring this pledge from Dr. Bell, the Trustees paid the highest possible compliment to his lamented predecessor. How fully and admirably that pledge has been redeemed by Dr. Bell it is needless to mention in a community where his character and ability are so well known. It is praise enough to say, that the mantle of Dr. Wyman and Dr. Lee could not have fallen on a more worthy successor. The Treasurer was authorized to borrow fifteen thousand dollars. Dec. 15, his Excellency Edward Everett and the Board of Visitors made the annual visitation. Dec. 16, the Committee reported the acceptance of Dr. Bell. Jan. 1, 1837, Messrs. Loring, Amory, and Tuckerman were appointed a Committee to prepare the annual report. Jan. 13, the Treasurer was authorized to renew a loan of twenty thousand dollars.

At the annual meeting, Jan. 25, Ebenezer Francis,

President, and Samuel Appleton, Vice-President, and Edward Tuckerman, Francis C. Gray, and Josiah Quincy, jun., Trustees, severally declined a re-election, and were thanked for their services. Edward Tuckerman, Esq., was chosen President; Jonathan Phillips, Esq., Vice-President. Robert Hooper, jun., Martin Brimmer, and Nathaniel I. Bowditch, were elected Trustees in the place of those who had retired. The Corporation fully concurred in the votes of the Trustees, expressive of respect for the memory of Dr. Lee, and of sympathy towards his widow, and directed that those votes should be published in the annual report. A highly complimentary vote was passed respecting Mr. Columbus Tyler, the Steward, for the performance of his increased duties since Dr. Lee's death; and the Trustees were instructed to grant him a suitable compensation. The Corporation also declared the high estimation in which they held the services of Mrs. Lee and of Mrs. Tyler in the female department, and ordered that "their interesting report of the organization and proceedings of the Belknap Sewing Society" should also be published.

On Feb. 5, one thousand copies of the annual report were ordered to be printed. This report is drawn up by Charles G. Loring, Esq., and occupies six pages, with an appendix of twenty pages more. It states a necessity (to this day still existing) of a

further ward at the Hospital for the accommodation of patients affected by fevers, erysipelas, &c.; — speaks of the erection of the new Belknap Ward as reflecting great credit on the architects, and on Mr. M'Allister, who superintended its construction; — that its estimated expense will not exceed forty thousand dollars; — mentions a purchase of six acres of land for about six thousand dollars. It pays a truly feeling tribute to the memory of Dr. Lee, and makes most honorable mention of Mr. and Mrs. Tyler's services, under their increased and arduous duties, resulting from his sudden decease. It mentions the fortunate selection of Dr. Bell as his successor. It is throughout one of the most able and beautifully written reports ever submitted to the Board. It closes with the following paragraph: —

“ The Trustees feel that there is cause for great gratitude, that this institution enjoyed so long the talents and services of the honored individual (Dr. Rufus Wyman) whose fortune it was to lay the broad and deep foundations of its usefulness and reputation, and whose invaluable services shed so bright a lustre upon its early history; and that, when he retired, exhausted by the toils and responsibilities of seventeen years devoted to its arduous duties, a successor was given to follow out his designs, to raise still higher this fabric of benevolence, and institute further inestimable improvements for the accomplishment of its great design. And, commending its destiny to the same Beneficence which raised and has hitherto sustained it, they rely with

confidence upon the ability and devotion of him to whose direction it is now mainly entrusted, that he will prove himself worthy the responsible station to which he is called; and that, when his labors shall be ended, his name shall be numbered with those of his predecessors, among the benefactors of his race."

The patients at the Asylum were forty-seven males, thirty females: total, seventy-seven. There had been discharged from the Hospital, during the year, one hundred and fifty-eight males, sixty-six females: total, two hundred and twenty-four. The documents appended to this report are also unusually interesting. Many details and anecdotes are given in Mr. Tyler's report in relation to the Asylum.

The same Medical and Surgical Staff and heads of departments were re-elected, except that Dr. John Jeffries was chosen in the place of Dr. Winslow Lewis, jun., as one of the Consulting Surgeons. Dr. John R. Lee was elected Assistant Physician and Apothecary at the Asylum. Feb. 19, Dr. Walker declining to act any longer as Consulting Surgeon, Dr. A. L. Peirson, of Salem, was appointed. Mr. Bowditch and the Secretary were appointed a Committee to revise the rules and regulations of both institutions for publication. The thanks of the Board were presented to Dr. Abraham R. Thompson, "for his services as Physician at the Asylum during the illness and since the death of Dr. Lee," with the request that he would

accept three hundred dollars. A grant of \$250 was also made to Mr. and Mrs. Tyler for their extra services, as recommended by the Corporation. April 2, the Treasurer was authorized to borrow twelve thousand dollars. Messrs. Amory, Brimmer, and Bowditch were appointed a Committee to inquire into the increased expenditures at the Hospital and at the Asylum. On April 12, the Committee reported a *printed pamphlet* of rules and regulations, which was adopted, having been carefully read and examined by the Board, and also by the Physicians, &c., while in manuscript. April 19, a correspondence ensued between Dr. Lewis and the Trustees, in respect to the change in the Board of Consulting Physicians. The reply of the Trustees states, that they felt no doubt that his skill and attainments in his profession were such as would qualify him for the place; and expresses the hope that no injurious consequences would follow from the manner in which they had exercised their discretion.

April 23, the Visiting Committee, Messrs. Lawrence and Eliot, reported the following vote, drawn up by Mr. Eliot, which was adopted: "Voted that the Trustees have recently seen, with great pain, that a violation of the rules of the institution by one of its officers has become the subject of newspaper animadversion. In an institution like this, to which it is so difficult to

attract, and in which it is so important to command, public confidence, the strictest and most scrupulous adherence to rules, of which the propriety is unquestioned, is required by a just regard as well to its usefulness to the public, as to the character of those who have any agency in its direction and control. Where many persons are connected in different departments, the reputation of all is more or less affected by the conduct of each; and all are therefore bound, by respect for others as well as themselves, to conduct in such a manner as to give no reasonable ground of complaint. The Trustees have felt unlimited confidence that no officer of the institution would expose himself to just censure, and they have on all occasions been but very slightly affected by remarks which they have had reason to believe were founded on jealousy or misconception. But it is with very different feelings they regard an accusation of violation of rule, which, on inquiry, proves to be true; and they think it due to themselves to take serious notice of it, and to put on record their denial of all knowledge of the circumstance at the time of its occurrence, and to express their hope that nothing may ever again require a similar expression of their feelings. Lest, however, the breach of confidence may be imagined to be of a more serious character than it really was, they think proper to state, that the circumstance to which

they allude was the employment of Dr. J. Mason Warren, a young man not connected with the Hospital, during the absence of his father, whose turn it was to officiate;" and a copy of this vote was sent to all the Surgeons of the Hospital.

When it is remembered, that Dr. John C. Warren had been Surgeon of the Hospital from its foundation, — that the Board had not the slightest distrust of the capacity of his son to perform the duties alluded to, it must be admitted, that the preceding vote is an honorable proof of their vigilance and independence. This son was a few years afterwards appointed one of the Surgeons of the Hospital, the duties of which station he has discharged with signal ability and success. A reply from Dr. Warren, which was of the most candid, manly, and appropriate character, was received at the next meeting. This censure, alike given and received in a proper spirit, did but tend thenceforth to strengthen and confirm between both parties feelings of mutual confidence, regard, and respect.

May 14, Dr. Warren announcing his intention of going to Europe, the surgical department of the Hospital was intrusted to Dr. Hayward. Aug. 13, William Church was chosen House Surgeon, and Joseph Sargent House Physician, for the ensuing year. Sept. 10, the wages at the Hospital were ordered to be reduced by the Superintendent. Sept. 24, the Trea-

surer was authorized to borrow twelve thousand dollars.

On Oct. 13, a communication from Dr. James Jackson, by which he resigned his situation as one of the Physicians of the Hospital, having been read, the following votes, submitted by Mr. Bowditch, were unanimously adopted; viz., "Voted that the Trustees have learned this determination of Dr. Jackson with the utmost regret. Connected as he has been with the institution from its first establishment, they are well aware how much he has always done to raise and maintain its reputation, and to extend its usefulness. Possessing the purest and most exemplary private character, with talents and attainments which have placed him at the head of the profession, and with kind and affable manners which have won the affections of his patients and conciliated the esteem and good-will of his associates, the Trustees cannot but regard his retirement from the Hospital as a most severe and serious loss. While they accept his resignation, therefore, they avail themselves of the opportunity publicly to acknowledge, that he was among the most active and influential of the original founders of the Hospital; that, by an uniform course of disinterested professional and personal service, he has ever been one of its ablest officers and best friends; and that he is thus, in their opinion, entitled to the lasting grati-

tude of the institution and of the community. Voted also, that, as a testimonial of the respect of the Trustees for Dr. Jackson, a free bed in the Hospital be placed at his disposal during life." Dr. Enoch Hale was then elected to fill the situation thus vacated.

A successor of Dr. Jackson (Dr. O. W. Holmes) closes a humorous poem on the difference between being a patient and a physician, with a most feeling tribute to his predecessor. He had been describing what a physician ought to be, — one

" Whose genial visit in itself combines
The best of cordials, tonics, anodynes.
Such is the visit that, from day to day,
Sheds o'er my chamber its benignant ray.
I give *his* health who never cared to claim
Her babbling homage from the tongue of fame :
Unmoved by praise, he stands by all confessed
The truest, noblest, wisest, kindest, best ! "

On Nov. 5, the Treasurer was authorized to borrow eighteen thousand dollars, in part to pay existing loans, and in part, six thousand dollars, to defray current expenses. Messrs. Brimmer, Thorndike, and Loring were appointed a Committee on the subject of the Charlestown Branch Railroad, and also on the subject of removing the hill of gravel at the Asylum. Nov. 19, Mr. Bowditch was added to this Railroad Committee.

Messrs. Brimmer and Eliot were appointed a committee "to consider and report what further marks of



J. Fowler.

respect should be paid to Dr. Jackson." On Dec. 3, this Committee presented the following report: "The Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, having received from Dr. Jackson the resignation of the office he has held since the first establishment of the institution, cannot suffer a circumstance of so much interest in the history of the Hospital to occur, without special notice of it on their records. It was, in great measure, owing to the active efforts of Dr. Jackson, and to the general knowledge of the fact that *he* would interest himself in its success, that this great charity was founded among us. So strong and just was the confidence of the community in his personal and professional character, that all suspicions of possible abuse in an institution of the kind under *his* care were speedily overcome, and liberally disposed persons were readily found to intrust to his integrity and skill the necessary funds for the foundation of an establishment which should do honor to the city. From its earliest existence to the present time, the Hospital has been watched over by Dr. Jackson with a zeal and fidelity which could not be surpassed, and has acquired a reputation, and been conducted with a success, highly honorable to him and to the other distinguished professional gentlemen with whom he has been associated. While his direct influence on the welfare of the institution has been thus decided and bene-

ficial, the Trustees cannot but consider as equally valuable the indirect influence of the example of disinterested and faithful labor for the general good which he has given to the profession and the public. Under his constant attention, together with that of the professional friends assembled around him, the system on which the Hospital is conducted has been perfected, till it seems, at length, admirably adapted to the purposes for which the institution was founded, and promises to insure its utility during all its future existence. Long may it continue, by doing good to all classes, to embalm the memory of one who had so large a share in its foundation, and in conducting it to its present high rank; and long may this community enjoy the benefit of the direct and indirect influence of the pure, benevolent, and elevated character of Dr. Jackson! The Trustees, in communicating this copy of their record, take the occasion to request Dr. Jackson to sit for his portrait to some artist of talent, that it may adorn the walls which have so often been the witnesses of his disinterested labors." And this report was unanimously accepted. A strong protest was, at this meeting, taken against the proposed location of the Charlestown Branch Railroad.

Dec. 17, a letter from Dr. Jackson was received, and the Chairman and Mr. Eliot were appointed a Com-

mittee to procure his portrait or bust as they may see fit. Dec. 21 and 22, his Excellency Mr. Everett and the Board of Visitors made the annual visitation. Messrs. Hooper and Bowditch were appointed a Committee to prepare the annual report. Jan. 12, 1828, the Treasurer was authorized to borrow twenty thousand dollars, as a substitute for loans formerly authorized. Jan. 17, leave of absence was granted to Dr. Bradford to visit Philadelphia.

The annual report at the close of this period mentions the proceedings on the retirement of Dr. Jackson, and speaks of him as "one who, in the discharge of his official duties, has left a bright example to all who may succeed him, and whose name will never be mentioned by the friends of the Hospital but with affection and gratitude;" mentions the completion of the Belknap Ward at a cost of \$43,500, the estimates being forty thousand dollars, — that the institution is thus enabled to accommodate fifty additional boarders, and can therefore, to a certain extent, hereafter receive such as are known to be incurable. It states the measures adopted to oppose the location, &c., of the Charlestown Branch Railroad; the creation of a debt of forty thousand dollars; the diminished income of the institution; and the need of a separate ward for fever-patients at the Hospital. It closes thus: "We do not think it expedient to make any actual

call for subscriptions at the present time ; but we feel the utmost confidence that such a call, when made, will be answered with that liberality which our institution has already experienced upon so many former occasions." Six years afterwards, such a call was made, and it was nobly answered. This report occupies five pages, and with its appendix thirty pages. From this pamphlet we learn that at the Hospital there were discharged one hundred and thirty-six males, seventy females, — total, two hundred and six ; and that there were received at the Asylum, during the year, sixty-three males, fifty-seven females. The first report ever presented by Dr. Bell is one of the accompanying documents. It gives a very able, interesting, and satisfactory view of his department of the institution. It contains a table of all the patients received and discharged annually, from the very commencement of the Asylum, with the results of the cases.

SUMMARY. — This period of five years was a remarkable one in many respects. It embraced very numerous changes among the officers of the institution. The truly momentous event of the resignation of Dr. Wyman ; the fortunate selection and premature decease of his successor, Dr. Lee ; and the appointment of Dr. Bell, who has so successfully matured and perfected the admirable system of both his

predecessors ; the resignation of Mr. Bigelow ; the temporary tenure of his successor Mr. Wyman, ending in the auspicious selection of Mr. Tyler, the present incumbent, — mark this as a most important era in the history of the M·Lean Asylum. In the Hospital, also, the long-tried and valued services of Mr. Gurney had ended, and his place was filled by Dr. Bradford. The retirement of Dr. Jackson was indeed a loss which the Trustees felt could never be adequately supplied, so entirely had he identified himself with the institution from its very commencement. One President of the Corporation had died ; and two others, Mr. Head and Mr. Francis, who had each been Chairman of the Board of Trustees, and among the ablest and most efficient officers of the institution, had now finally retired. Mr. Russell, after rendering the most valuable gratuitous services during fourteen years as Treasurer, had been succeeded by Mr. Andrews. Mr. Bowditch, in the office of Secretary, had been succeeded by Mr. Gray. Of the entire Board of Trustees at the beginning of this period, none remained except Mr. Bond, the Chairman ; among those who had retired being Mr. Codman, whose services in the capacities of Secretary and Trustee had been of longer duration than those of any of his associates.

The general control of the institution, and the

management of both its departments, had thus, as it were, passed into entirely new hands.

Only two donations, together amounting to but one thousand dollars, seem to have been received during this whole period of five years. A new building had been erected at the Asylum, finishing the female ward, to correspond precisely with that for male patients; and, pursuant to a previous suggestion of the Board, it had been appropriately named the Belknap Ward, in honor of that munificent benefactress of the institution, Miss Mary Belknap. In the erection of this building, a debt of forty thousand dollars had been contracted, for the payment of which, however, ample means existed. The M'Lean Asylum continued to be conducted in such a manner as to deserve and receive the entire approval of the Trustees and of the public. The Hospital in Boston was, during this period also, conducted on the same general system as in former years. It would seem, indeed, from incidental notices in the records, that there had been occasionally some little temporary differences of opinion between the Medical Officers and the Superintendent; but the Board were satisfied that both parties were alike actuated by a sincere desire of doing their duty, and of most effectually promoting the welfare of the institution; and some slight and temporary inconveniences were, it is be-

lieved, the only result of the occasional want of harmony among its officers in this département. And it is due to Dr. Bradford to remark, in this connection, that his health, both of body and mind, was gradually becoming somewhat impaired by an alarming, and, as it proved, a fatal disorder, whose periodical attacks tended to render him unduly sensitive to the annoyances incident to his position. An occasional irritability, the natural result of his disease, from time to time manifested itself, and was a source of sincere regret to those who never ceased to respect and regard him, and to none more sincerely than to the Board of Trustees.

CHAPTER VII.

1838—1842.

DEATH OF DR. BRADFORD. — CHARLES SUMNER ELECTED SUPERINTENDENT. — HIS RESIGNATION. — JOHN M. GOODWIN CHOSEN HIS SUCCESSOR. — INDEX TO MEDICAL AND SURGICAL RECORDS. — RAILROADS AT THE ASYLUM. — PITIFUL LAND DAMAGES. — A WATER BED. — MISS BRIMMER'S BEQUEST. — JOHN M'LEAN'S PORTRAIT. — WARREN FUND. — SMALL POX AT HOSPITAL. — DEATH OF GEORGE BOND, CHAIRMAN OF TRUSTEES: HIS CHARACTER AND SERVICES. — ROBERT HOOPER, JUN., CHAIRMAN. — BUST OF DR. JAMES JACKSON.

AT the annual meeting of the Corporation, Jan. 24, 1838, Edward Tuckerman, President; Jonathan Phillips, Vice-President; Henry Andrews, Treasurer; and William Gray, Secretary, were severally re-elected. William Appleton was elected by the Corporation a Trustee in place of Charles G. Loring; and Thomas Lamb was subsequently elected by the Board of Visitors a Trustee in the place of John P. Thorndike. Both these gentlemen had declined a re-election, and were thanked for their services. The Board now consisted of Charles Amory, William Appleton, Nathaniel I. Bowditch, Martin Brimmer, Thomas B. Curtis, Samuel A. Eliot, Robert Hooper, jun., and Samuel Lawrence, Trustees on the part of the Corporation; George Bond, Henry Edwards, Thomas Lamb,

and Robert G. Shaw, Trustees on the part of the Board of Visitors. It was voted, "That the Corporation entirely concur in the sentiments expressed by the Board of Trustees in their votes adopted upon the resignation of Dr. Jackson;" and the same were ordered to be printed with the annual report.

Drs. James Jackson, George C. Shattuck, John Randall, and John Ware, were chosen Consulting Physicians; Drs. George B. Doane, John Jeffries, Abel L. Pierson, and Solomon D. Townsend, Consulting Surgeons. Drs. Jacob Bigelow, Walter Channing, and Enoch Hale, were re-elected Physicians; Drs. John C. Warren and George Hayward, Surgeons; and J. B. S. Jackson, Assistant or (since called) Admitting Physician. Feb. 18, Mr. Homer Goodhue was chosen Male Supervisor at the Asylum, and Miss Relief R. Barber, Female Supervisor; of which posts they have always performed the duties in a most exemplary manner. Miss Barber, indeed, is a second Mrs. Tyler. March 18, the Treasurer was authorized to borrow six thousand dollars. April 13, the free beds were reduced to twenty-four. April 18, a billiard-table was ordered for the female patients at the Asylum. April 22, Dr. J. B. S. Jackson resigning his office, Dr. Henry I. Bowditch was, at the next meeting, May 6, elected his successor. July 3, further loans of four thou-

sand and six thousand dollars were authorized. Aug. 9, Henry J. Bigelow was elected House Physician; and John B. Johnson, House Surgeon, for the year ensuing. Sept. 16, Mr. Lawrence resigned his office of Trustee. Messrs. Lamb and Bowditch were appointed a Committee on the subject of a bequest of the late Ambrose S. Courtis; to whom was also referred, on Sept. 30, a proposal of the heirs at law for a compromise. Pursuant to a subsequent report of this Committee, one quarter part of the bequest was accepted in full (two thousand five hundred dollars), provided no greater percentage be paid to any other legatee. Dec. 16, Messrs. Edwards and Brimmer were appointed to prepare the annual report.

This report is a pamphlet of seven pages, with documents annexed, making ten pages more. It states the illness of Dr. Bradford, and his temporary absence from that cause; — “the unexampled difficulties of the times;” — the embarrassed state of the finances; — total receipts (of which \$6,740 was capital), \$16,081; current expenses, \$17,506.24; excess of expenditures, \$1,425.24; due to Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, \$50,000; — and the completion of the Belknap Ward. One sentence was destined to be strikingly verified a few years afterwards, viz.: “The Massachusetts General Hospital

has always aimed to adopt and introduce the most recent improvements and discoveries in medicine and surgery." It mentions the increased number of inmates at the Asylum:—the cure of all the recent cases, excluding deaths and patients prematurely removed. It contains a very curious table, showing the occupations, &c., of all the male patients at the Asylum for twenty years. Remaining in the Asylum, Jan. 1, fifty-eight males, thirty-five females: total, ninety-three.

Dec. 30, thanks were voted to Dr. Warren "for his attention in procuring instruments and medicines."

At the annual meeting of the Corporation, Jan. 23, 1839, Samuel A. Eliot, Thomas B. Curtis, and Samuel Lawrence, having declined a re-election as Trustees, were severally thanked for their services; and George M. Dexter, Francis C. Lowell, and Henry B. Rogers, were chosen in their stead; all three of whom still continue to be members of the Board. Mr. Eliot had been a very efficient officer. Many of the ablest reports of Committees were from his pen. In his relations to this institution, he always displayed his characteristic energy and independence, both of thought and action. At this meeting was passed the vote by which all persons who have served, or shall hereafter serve, as Trustees, are to be considered members of the Corporation. A remonstrance was ordered

against the attempt of the Charlestown Branch Railroad to connect with the Worcester Railroad.

On Feb. 10, one thousand copies of the annual report were ordered to be printed. Drs. Bigelow and Hale were re-elected Physicians; and Dr. Ware was chosen in place of Dr. Channing, who was thanked for his long and faithful services. To the two surgeons of last year was now added a third, Dr. Solomon D. Townsend. Drs. James Jackson and Drs. Shattuck and Randall were re-elected Consulting Physicians; and Dr. Homans was substituted for Dr. Ware. On the Board of Consulting Surgeons, Dr. Edward Reynolds was elected in place of Dr. Townsend. Messrs. Bond and Brimmer were appointed a Committee to procure the portrait of Dr. Jackson. March 24, measures were ordered to protect the Hospital-garden against claims of air and light from windows opening thereon. July 12, Dr. Henry J. Bigelow resigned as House Surgeon, and Mr. John F. Eustis was appointed to take his place at present, and was chosen House Physician; and Dr. Christopher C. Holmes was chosen House Surgeon for the year ensuing. At this time, Messrs. Bond and Bowditch were on the Visiting Committee; and there were but three foreigners in the House, one paying and two free.

On Oct. 11, Messrs. Shaw and Brimmer were in-

structed to report as to the expediency of rejecting syphilitic patients, or of charging them extra board; and this Committee subsequently reported, that such patients should be received only in urgent cases, and should always be charged double the usual rates of board; and this rule has ever since been acted on. Messrs. Bond and Bowditch were appointed a Committee to consider the expediency of applying to the Surgeons for the records, or for leave to copy the same, who at a subsequent meeting reported in favor of such an application. The Physicians had always regarded their records as the property of the institution. Dr. Warren, on the contrary, considered the surgical records as his own private memoranda. The appointment of this Committee, however, and their suggestions as to the importance of the institution's possessing either the originals of these records or copies of them, induced him very cheerfully to yield up any private claim.

On Wednesday, Oct. 23, a special meeting was held; and the following votes, prepared by Mr. Bowditch, were adopted: "It having been announced to the Board, that Gamaliel Bradford, M.D., Superintendent of the Massachusetts General Hospital, died on Tuesday forenoon, after an unusually violent attack of epilepsy, to which disorder he had been for some time subject, — Voted, that the Trustees would express to

Mrs. Bradford their sincere and respectful sympathy upon an event which has thus suddenly taken from her and her young children an affectionate husband and father, and deprived this institution of the services of a zealous and faithful officer." By another vote, six months' additional salary was granted to Mrs. Bradford; and she and her family were invited to remain at the Hospital till the choice of a new Superintendent. And it was further voted, that the Trustees will attend the funeral of the deceased "as a tribute of respect for his private character, and a public acknowledgment of his official fidelity." Dr. Parker, of Roxbury, was requested to act as Superintendent *pro tem*. Mrs. Bradford was, by a special vote, subsequently continued in the office of Matron till the first of April following; and it may be truly said, that, from the moment when she first entered the Hospital until she left it, the Trustees felt the most entire satisfaction with the mode in which she had performed all the arduous and responsible duties of her post. And when she at last departed, a widow, with an interesting family, which had been growing up around her, she carried with her the respect and regard of all the members of the Board, and their most sincere good wishes, which have since been happily realized.

Nov. 3, at this meeting, the Committee upon the

records of cases made their formal report, which was accepted; and the House Physician and Surgeon were directed, for the future, to record all cases in volumes to be prepared for that purpose. A perfect index has been since made, both to the medical and surgical records, so that their entire contents and results are rendered at once accessible. Nov. 17, all moneys received by the Superintendent are ordered to be deposited in some one bank, in his name "as Superintendent." Dec. 15, Messrs. Shaw and Lowell were appointed a Committee to prepare the annual report. This report is very brief, about five pages, but contains at the end a report of Dr. Bell, eighteen pages in length, and other documents, making together a pamphlet of thirty-six pages. It mentions the death of Dr. Bradford, — "a man equally remarkable for strict integrity of purpose, and great independence of judgment;" states that "Mrs. Bradford continues, for the present, her valuable though unostentatious services, which have heretofore contributed so much to the success of the establishment." It shows that the number of patients treated this year at the Hospital (three hundred and sixty-nine) has been less than usual. Of the M'Lean Asylum it remarks, that "it continues to improve;" and the Committee add, "It would be difficult to find language that would imply greater praise to those who have the care of it." In this

department there were remaining, Dec. 31, sixty-two males, forty-six females: total, one hundred and eight. It mentions by name all the free-bed donors of the year. Dr. Bell's report is very able, interesting, and important. I will not do him the injustice of making any analysis of it, or giving any extracts from his statements and views. It ends with the following sentence: "In closing this third year of his labors in a field of duty which to him has been one of unmingled enjoyment, the Superintendent cannot deny himself the satisfaction of bearing his testimony to the devoted, intelligent, and conscientious co-operation which he has uniformly had from all those associated with him."

Dec. 17, Mr. Charles Sumner was chosen Superintendent. Dec. 27, there were twenty-nine males, sixteen females, in the Hospital: total, forty-five. The number in July previous had on one occasion been reduced to twenty-one. Dec. 29, the Visiting Committee were authorized "to procure a water-bed, if they think proper." Jan. 10, 1840, the number of free beds was raised to thirty-two. On the 18th, the Visiting Committee were instructed to make arrangements for Dr. Bell's absence, and to continue his salary. John C. Gray, Esq., was thanked for a donation of three hundred dollars.

At the annual meeting, Jan. 22, 1840, the same Board of Trustees were re-elected, except that Ebene-

zer Chadwick took the place of Mr. Rogers, then absent in Europe. Feb. 9, one thousand copies of the annual report were ordered. Dr. Ware was thanked for his valuable services as Physician during the past year, his extensive private practice preventing him from being able to hold his office any longer; and Dr. J. B. S. Jackson was chosen in his stead. The Consulting Physicians were all re-elected, as were also the Consulting Surgeons, except that Dr. O. W. Holmes took the place of Dr. Doane, deceased. March 22, Mr. Cogswell's application for a loan of the portrait of Lieutenant-Governor Phillips, for the purpose of taking an engraving, was granted.

On April 15, the following vote was passed, which is still acted upon: "That any patient sent by a subscriber for a free bed at the Hospital shall be admitted, provided the subscriber's free bed be not pre-occupied by his order, notwithstanding the vote fixing the number of free beds." May 17, the rules as to the admission of students at the Hospital were modified; and it was made henceforth the duty of the Physicians and Surgeons to nominate two persons as House Physician and two as House Surgeon, one of these nominees to be subsequently chosen by the Trustees. This rule of a double nomination is also still acted on. June 14, the Treasurer and Messrs. Dexter and Bowditch were appointed a Committee

respecting a new lease of the Belknap Estate in Washington-street. June 28, the Treasurer was authorized, with Mr. Lamb's concurrence, to make investments, or to pay off part of the existing debt. July 10, Messrs. Brimmer, Lowell, and Bowditch were appointed a Committee to examine reports of French and English hospitals, sent from Europe by Mr. Brimmer. July 15, the officer called House Apothecary at the Asylum was ordered to be known as the Assistant Physician; and a grant was made to Dr. Fox of five hundred dollars, for the "highly satisfactory manner" in which he had performed his duties during the absence of Dr. Bell.

Aug. 16, 1840, William A. Davis was elected House Physician, and Elijah R. Mears, House Surgeon of the Hospital, for the year ensuing. Aug. 30, the Committee reported, as the result of their examination of foreign reports, that a comparison be instituted of the prices paid at the Hospital, at the Asylum, and at the Worcester Institution, for stores, &c. Sept. 13, it was voted that the portrait of Mr. M'Lean be removed to the M'Lean Asylum, and placed in the oval room. It now hangs there. The room thus designated was the dancing-hall in the days of the old owner, Mr. Barrell, and is now the room occupied by the Trustees, and for the reception of visitors. On Nov. 22, the claim against the

Charlestown Branch Railroad was referred. Dec. 20, Messrs. Dexter and Lamb were appointed to prepare the annual report.

This report is only three pages long; yet, with its accompanying documents, it forms a pamphlet of no less than forty-three pages. It mentions the increased subscriptions for free beds, for which it says "the Hospital is greatly indebted to the personal exertions of the Assistant Physician, Dr. Bowditch." The subscribers are also especially thanked, and a list of their names is appended to the report. The bequest of Miss Brimmer for this object is gratefully acknowledged. The receipt of a dividend of one third of the profits of the Life Insurance Company (\$20,000) is announced, and the fact that it was applied in part payment of the debt due that institution; the dividend from the stock in that institution being \$7,825. The total receipts of the year were \$41,471.24; total expenditures, \$37,185.26. The report of Mr. Sumner, the Superintendent of the Hospital, contains various interesting statistics and analyses. Dr. Bell's report is sixteen pages long, besides eleven pages of republication of extracts from, and documents appended to, his report of two years before. Number of inmates, Dec. 31, seventy-four males, fifty-one females: total, one hundred and twenty-five. Total expenses, \$20,919.63. It contains

various tabular statements, showing the results for the preceding five years. It contrasts the slight personal restraint found necessary in our institution with that resorted to in similar establishments in Great Britain, &c.; the abuses of private mad-houses in that country, and the safeguards against like abuses here. This report of Dr. Bell will be found no less interesting and instructive than its predecessors. Dec. 25, twenty-two males, twenty-five females, — total, forty-seven, — in the Hospital.

Jan. 15, 1841, the number of free beds for the quarter was fixed at thirty-five, and for the two next quarters was to be reduced to twenty-five. A letter from William D. Sohier, Esq., was received and read, giving notice of a bequest of five thousand dollars on certain trusts, in the will of Miss Mary Anne Brimmer, which was referred to Messrs. Bowditch and Lowell; and at the next meeting, on report of this Committee, it was voted to accept said legacy, "upon the trusts prescribed by her will, and with the wish to carry into full effect the benevolent intentions of the donor." The purchase of certain lands near the Asylum was referred to the Visiting Committee.

At the annual meeting of the Corporation, held Jan. 27, the same eight Trustees were re-elected. The Board of Visitors elected Ignatius Sargent in place of Robert G. Shaw, who had resigned. Mr. Shaw, not-

withstanding his numerous private engagements, had zealously discharged his duty as one of the Board for the preceding five years. Feb. 14, the Committee were authorized to publish what number of copies they saw fit of the annual report. All the Medical and Surgical Officers and heads of departments in office at the close of the year were re-elected. Feb. 28, Rejoice Newton, Esq., was requested to take steps for collecting the amount due from Isaiah Thomas's legacy. Mr. Bowditch, Chairman of the Committee on the subject of Miss Brimmer's legacy, made a detailed report, which was accepted,—to the end, first, that a separate investment and account of the fund should be kept by the Treasurer, and the income yearly paid to the Superintendent; second, that, as there were twenty-four free beds in the Hospital when Miss Brimmer died (Oct. 18, 1839), the Board must never establish a less number, as in such case the bequest would be forfeited; and, third, that on Jan. 1, 1842, two permanent free beds should be established, to be called the Brimmer Free Beds, to be for ever maintained by the income of said fund.

March 21, 1841, Captain Sumner having decided to resign his situation as Superintendent, Mr. John M. Goodwin was unanimously elected. Mr. Goodwin, it will be remembered, had been, several years before, an officer at the Asylum. April 4, Mr. Dexter was

authorized to buy eight acres of land, at four hundred dollars per acre, near the Asylum, or to hire the Joy Farm at five hundred dollars a year for five years. April 16, the Brimmer bequest the Treasurer was authorized to invest in any mode sanctioned by her will. The thanks of the Board were presented to Dr. John C. Warren for "his donation to the Hospital of the records of surgical cases, which have been kept by the Surgeons of the Hospital." April 21, Mr. Dexter reported that he had bought the eight acres of land of the Lowell Railroad at five hundred dollars per acre. This is the lot at the entrance of our avenue on the right-hand side, and is now probably worth five times as much as it cost.

May 9, Messrs. Bowditch and Dexter were appointed a Committee to settle the northerly line of the Belknap Estate in Washington-street, with Mr. Gibbs, the adjoining proprietor. June 6, the Visiting Committee, with Dr. Bowditch the Assistant Physician, were directed to take measures for preserving the medical and surgical records, and for bringing to the notice of the Trustees all cases of patients who had been over three months in the Hospital. Aug. 8, Ezra W. Fletcher was elected House Physician, and George Hayward, jun., House Surgeon, for the year ensuing.

Oct. 20, 1841, Mr. Bowditch, from the Committee

on the Charlestown Branch Railroad, reported that the referees, Judge Fay and Messrs. Fletcher and Parker, had awarded *six hundred* dollars for damages which the Committee thought really amounted to *five thousand*. Nov. 7, Dr. Warren transmitted a letter enclosing one thousand dollars as a fund for the purchase of religious and moral books to be given to patients on leaving the Hospital. This donation was accepted; and Dr. Warren was thanked "for his early, efficient, and continued interest in this institution;" his letter being recorded *in extenso*.

Dec. 5, Mr. Ignatius Sargent resigned his office of Trustee, and transmitted a donation of four hundred dollars, which was suitably acknowledged by the Board, who expressed their great regret at losing him as an associate. Dec. 19, Messrs. Appleton, Bond, and Edwards were appointed a Committee respecting a fund in aid of poor, insane patients who are deemed curable. Messrs. Amory and Chadwick were chosen to prepare the annual report. This report is only four pages long, but, with the accompanying documents, makes a pamphlet of forty pages. It mentions the resignation of Mr. Sumner; that Mr. John M. Goodwin "entered upon his duties early in April last, and has since performed the same in a manner so satisfactory as to give every reason to believe that the Board made the best choice in their power." It mentions

certain statistics, as to free beds for the past three years, furnished by Dr. Bowditch, "our most indefatigable Assistant Physician." It commends "Dr. Bell's most able and elaborate report" to "the careful perusal of all." It states the present property of the institution, deducting its debt of twenty thousand dollars to the Life Insurance Company, as about ninety thousand dollars; total receipts of the year, twenty-four thousand dollars; expenses, twenty-three thousand six hundred dollars. Dr. Bell's report fully justifies the commendation bestowed on it by the Committee. It is twenty-two pages long, exclusive of an appendix of forms of admission. It states that the patients, Dec. 31, were seventy-nine males, sixty-three females: total, one hundred and forty-two. Messrs. Bond and Bowditch were desired to consider the appointment of an Assistant Surgeon, and, on Jan. 14, were discharged from that duty. On Dec. 31, nineteen males, thirty females, — total, forty-nine, — in Hospital.

At the annual meeting of the Corporation, in January, 1842, Marcus Morton, jun., Esq., was elected Secretary in place of Mr. Gray, who had declined a re-election. Mr. Morton still holds that office. All the Trustees on the part of the Corporation were re-elected; and Mr. Henry B. Rogers was again chosen by the Board of Visitors a Trustee in place of Mr. Sargent. Feb. 20, all the Medical and

Surgical Officers, and heads of the two departments, were severally re-elected. April 21, the salary of the Male Supervisor, Mr. Goodhue, was raised to five hundred dollars, and of the Female Supervisor, Miss Barber, to two hundred and fifty dollars, in acknowledgment of their faithful and efficient services.

At a special meeting, May 3, it was voted, that the Trustees, under "their feeling of great anxiety from the introduction of the small-pox and varioloid into the General Hospital, hereby recommend, that, until these diseases are expelled, as few patients as possible be admitted into the Hospital; and that all patients who are admitted shall be first informed of the condition of the house; and that the Visiting Committee be requested to inform the Physicians and Surgeons of this opinion of the Trustees, and to urge upon them to give such care and directions as shall in their judgment be most effectual to prevent these diseases from spreading among the patients." The Visiting Committee and Mr. Dexter were appointed a Committee to cleanse, whitewash, and paint the Hospital.

On June 5, we find the following record, viz.: "Mr. Bowditch proposed the following votes, which were read and adopted: — George Bond, Esq., Chairman of this Board, having died May 23, aged fifty-four years, voted that this event has closed a life of honorable usefulness, depriving the community of one of its most

upright, active, and intelligent citizens, who, in his better days, was among the foremost in all acts of private liberality and of public enterprise, and who bore adversity with a manly firmness which won universal sympathy and respect. Voted, that by this bereavement this institution has lost one of its best friends and benefactors, one who has ever manifested an untiring zeal in promoting its interests and objects, — devoting himself to his official duties with an assiduity and fidelity worthy of all praise and imitation. Voted, that a copy of these resolutions, expressing the sense which this Board entertain of the exemplary character and important services of their late associate, be transmitted to his widow and children.”

Mr. Bond had been Chairman of the Board for seven years. By recent reverses in business, he had become bankrupt, and had been prevented by illness from attending any meeting since Jan. 29. He was particularly instrumental in the fortunate selection of Dr. Bell, and had always taken an especial interest in the affairs of the Asylum. He often made visits there in company with Mrs. Bond, and ever showed a deep interest in the welfare of its inmates. In the transaction of business, he was uniformly prompt and attentive; in his intercourse with the Board, courteous and affable. All its members cherished towards him a strong feeling of personal regard. I trust that

it will not be declared a violation of confidence, if I mention, in this connection, the interesting fact, that his associates sent him, shortly before his death, a letter expressive of these their sentiments, and enclosing five hundred dollars to defray his expenses during a journey to the South, in the hope that his health might thus be restored. He died among strangers; but none can doubt that this mark of attention and friendship, slight as it was, must have been beyond measure grateful to him, as he was leaving those familiar scenes to which he was never to return.

At this meeting, May 23, renewed admissions into the Hospital were recommended. June 3, two foreigners paying, two free; two Americans paying, eight free: total, fourteen.

June 19, Mr. Robert Hooper, jun., was elected Chairman. July 15, the Superintendent was directed to prohibit the use of tobacco *by the patients within the house*. It has been since much more stringently and generally excluded. Aug. 7, a permanent free bed was established, called the Tucker Free Bed, to be for ever maintained out of the income of the bequest of Miss Margaret Tucker, which had just been received. William Henry Thayer was elected House Physician, and Edward B. Pierson House Surgeon, for the year ensuing.

On Aug. 21, 1842, the Treasurer was authorized

“to reimburse Mr. Brimmer the cost and expenses incurred by him in procuring the marble bust of Dr. Jackson.” This bust is now in the ‘Trustees’ room. As a work of art, it is truly admirable. It is the most speaking likeness that can be conceived. It will transmit to coming times the calm and benignant countenance of the first Physician of the Hospital. Sept. 18, “George Washington” was placed on a free bed from his admission, probably on account of his name. Dec. 4, Messrs. Rogers and Andrews were appointed a Committee to prepare the annual report.

This report is about twelve pages in length, and, with the documents appended, forms a pamphlet of exactly the length of its immediate predecessor, — forty pages. It states the cost of the Hospital at \$145,069.44, and of the Asylum, \$245,845.98: in all, \$390,915.42. It states the various sources of income of the institution, and the expense of each department; that the Asylum will henceforth defray its general current expenses [it has done so]; that, on April 8, a case of small-pox occurred in the Hospital, and two others in the same ward were attacked by it, one of whom died; that sixteen cases of mild varioloid occurred to June 1; that the number of patients was reduced from sixty-one to thirteen, the Directors having forbid all admissions during this period. It mentions, with suitable expressions of gratitude, the

generous donation of one thousand dollars by Dr. John C. Warren. In regard to the Asylum, it states that the patients, on Dec. 31, were eighty-one males, fifty-two females: total, one hundred and thirty-three. It concurs with Dr. Bell in the opinion, "that in general health and peace, in freedom from every painful accident, and in its curative results, the year now completed will compare favorably with any former period." It especially commends the views embraced in his report, and refers to the interesting circumstance that it includes the results of a period of exactly twenty-five years. This report of Dr. Bell is sixteen pages long, besides an appendix of five pages. The Committee close with the following beautiful tribute to the memory of the late George Bond, Esq.: "Ever ready to devote his time, talents, property, and influence to all objects of public utility, he was the early friend of this institution, and, by his faithful services and prudent counsels, contributed essentially to its present prosperity and success. A man of lofty principles, sterling integrity, sound judgment, and generous impulses, his memory is entitled to the respect of all who honor virtue, or love practical benevolence. May we not hope that his example will be duly appreciated and extensively followed?"

Dec. 30, thirty-one males, nineteen females, were in Hospital. Jan. 18, 1843, Mr. Brimmer declined a

re-election as Trustee. An engraving was ordered of the Asylum Buildings. Messrs. Lamb and Bowditch were appointed the Free-bed Committee.

But two donations to the institution were made during this period of five years: Mr. Courtis's bequest, compromised at two thousand five hundred dollars, and Dr. Warren's donation of one thousand dollars. Miss Tucker's legacy, though now received, had been made many years previously. At the Hospital, the death of the Superintendent, Dr. Bradford, and the short term of his immediate successor, Mr. Sumner, had been followed by the appointment of Mr. Goodwin. The lamented decease of Mr. Bond had been followed by the selection of a most worthy and able successor. The small-pox, which had been introduced, fortunately proved fatal, as is believed, in only one instance. The pitiful amount received, under award of referees, for land at the Asylum taken by the Charlestown Branch Railroad, was more than compensated by the judicious purchase of other additional land in the vicinity. Both departments of the institution were successfully accomplishing the objects for which they were founded.

CHAPTER VIII.

1843—1847.

DONATION BOOK COMPLETED BY MR. ROGERS. — VARIOLOID AGAIN IN HOSPITAL. — MR. APPLETON'S DONATION, TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS. — ISRAEL MUNSON'S BEQUEST, TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS. — SEARS FREE BEDS. — LANDS IN SOMERVILLE TAXED. — TWO WINGS ADDED TO HOSPITAL: SUBSCRIPTION OF SIXTY-TWO THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED AND FIFTY DOLLARS. — SERVICES OF MR. ROGERS. — MISS TAYLOR'S ILLNESS. — DR. BELL'S VISIT TO EUROPE AT REQUEST OF BUTLER HOSPITAL, OF RHODE ISLAND. — BEQUEST OF JOHN PARKER, TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS. — STATUE OF APOLLO. — LYING-IN DEPARTMENT DISCUSSED. — DANIEL WALDO'S BEQUEST, FORTY THOUSAND DOLLARS. — DEATH OF MR. GOODWIN. — ANECDOTE OF HIM. — RICHARD GIRDLER ELECTED. — TOMB OF THOMAS OLIVER. — NEW KITCHEN AT HOSPITAL. — ENLARGED MEDICAL AND SURGICAL STAFF. — MEDICAL COLLEGE. — JOHN REDMAN'S BEQUEST, ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS. — WILLIAM OLIVER'S, FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS. — OUT-DOOR PATIENTS. — HOSPITAL FENCE. — MONUMENT TO JEREMIAH AND MARY BELKNAP. — ADDITION TO DWELLING HOUSE AT ASYLUM. — BEQUEST OF SARAH CLOUGH, A DOMESTIC. — ETHER DISCOVERY. — SICKNESS AT ASYLUM. — DEATH OF SEVERAL PATIENTS, AND OF TWO CHILDREN OF DR. BELL.

At the annual meeting, Jan. 25, 1843, the following officers were re-elected: Edward Tuckerman, President; Jonathan Phillips, Vice-President; Henry Andrews, Treasurer; Marcus Morton, jun., Secretary. The eight trustees elected by the Corporation were Charles Amory, William T. Andrews, Nathaniel I. Bowditch, George M. Dexter, Robert Hooper, jun., Francis C. Lowell, Jonathan Chapman, and William F. Otis; the two last in the place of Messrs. Brim-

mer and Chadwick, who had resigned, and were thanked for their services. Messrs. Henry Edwards, Thomas Lamb, and Henry B. Rogers, were re-elected by the Board of Visitors; and John A. Lowell, Esq., was chosen in place of Mr. Bond, deceased. All the Medical and Surgical Officers, and the heads of the two departments, were re-elected. Two thousand five hundred copies of the annual report were ordered to be published.

Messrs. Bowditch and F. C. Lowell were appointed a Committee respecting an application for a new Life Insurance Charter, now before the Legislature. Feb. 19, Mr. Bowditch was appointed to advise with the Treasurer as to investment of funds now in his hands. March 5, the Visiting Committee were ordered to confer with Dr. Bell as to procuring a clergyman to officiate at the Asylum. The House Apothecary at Hospital was ordered to be chosen annually, at the time of the choice of Physicians and Surgeons. March 19, the Visiting Committee and Mr. Bowditch were appointed a Committee to have tablets prepared with names of the donors, to be placed over such free beds as are supported from their funds, as in the case of the Brimmer and Tucker free beds. This was subsequently found to be very distasteful to patients, as making an odious discrimination between free and pay patients, and was rescinded.

On April 2, Mr. Rogers was appointed a Committee "to complete the list of subscriptions, donations, and legacies, commenced by Col. Joseph May." April 19, Dr. Chauncey Booth was chosen Assistant Physician and Apothecary at the Asylum. Messrs. Dexter and F. C. and J. A. Lowell were appointed a Committee on the subject of ventilation, warming, &c., of the Hospital; who subsequently reported plans, with estimates, and were instructed to execute the same. May 7, Messrs. Bowditch, Otis, and Amory were appointed a Committee on the house-diet and general discipline of the Hospital; and Mr. Bowditch was asked to ascertain the boundary of the Hospital flats, and to take measures to prevent encroachments.

On May 12, a special meeting was held, on information that one of the patients was believed to be ill of varioloid; and the Visiting Committee were requested to wait on Dr. Warren, ascertain facts, and act as they shall judge best. May 21, the Committee on diet, &c., made a report, which was accepted, and ordered to be communicated to the Superintendent, and by him to all the other officers; and it was "voted, that, whenever the Medical and Surgical Officers shall think there is any reason to suppose that a patient is ill of varioloid or small-pox, it shall be their duty forthwith to inform the Superintendent, to the end that he may take immediate measures to remove such

patient from the institution, if he can be removed with safety;" and a copy of this vote was sent to all the officers. July 2, a box was ordered at the Hospital for preservation of valuable papers. It is now kept in the Trustees' room. Aug. 20, John Frasier Head was elected House Physician; William E. Townsend, House Surgeon; Charles K. Whipple re-elected Apothecary. Oct. 18, Mr. Dexter was appointed to express to Mr. George Taylor "the unanimous and decided opposition of the Trustees" to his project of laying out a new street through the Hospital-grounds.

Mr. Rogers, the Committee on the Book of Donations, reported that he had completed the same. His interesting letter, stating the difficulties of the task, and showing how successfully they were overcome, is recorded in full; and it occupies five pages of the record. He details the various services of Col. May; and of the early donors he says: "They belonged to every rank and condition of life; their subscriptions far exceeded in amount and number any thing of the kind which, even to this day, has been known in New England; and Mr. May seems to have taken a pride in recording their names, as alike honorable to themselves and to the social and political institutions under which they lived." It closes with the following interesting summary:—

From the record as now made up, it appears that 1,191 persons subscribed to the Hospital and Asylum	\$131,269.21
There had been received from public exhibitions, concerts, and incorporated bodies, among which are comprised twenty-four religious societies, twelve towns, and five benevolent associations .	15,723.36

Making a total \$146,992.57
Of which amount, \$45,373.34 was specially sub-
scribed for the Asylum.

There had been bequeathed, devised, or given . .	388,098.68
Received from annual donations to free beds . .	46,657.00

Thus raising the gross amount received in various
ways from the public, from the commencement
to this date, and without including the right of
the Corporation to the profits of the Massa-
chusetts Life Insurance Company, to the magni-
ficent sum of \$581,748.25

The task thus completed by Mr. Rogers was most
ably and satisfactorily accomplished. No report, in-
deed, had ever been made to this Board either more
gratifying in itself, or which more entitles the Com-
mittee by whom it was submitted, to the sincere
thanks of the Trustees and of all friends of the insti-
tution.

At the same meeting, it was voted "that the subject
of Mr. Lee's bequest to the Hospital be referred to
Mr. Bowditch, with full powers." This, it is believed,
related only to certain restrictions originally imposed
by Mr. Lee, as to selling the stocks which he gave.
Dec. 3, a communication having been received from

William Appleton, enclosing a check for the sum of ten thousand dollars, as a donation for the purpose of affording aid to such patients in the M'Lean Asylum as from straitened means might be compelled to leave the institution without a perfect cure, — it was “voted that the Trustees appreciate highly the liberality and wisdom of this act of charity, and accept this donation to be held sacred for the special purpose designated by the donor.” Mr. Appleton's communication was ordered to be recorded, and the amount deposited in the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, as “the Appleton Fund for the Relief of the Insane ;” Messrs. Hooper and F. C. Lowell being appointed to carry these votes into effect. On Dec. 17, Messrs. J. A. Lowell and Otis were appointed a Committee to prepare the annual report.

Of this document the unprecedented number of four thousand copies were published, — a compliment to which it was well entitled. It is twelve pages long, and contains an elaborate report of Dr. Bell, of forty-two pages, making in all a pamphlet of sixty-three pages. The report gives a very satisfactory view of the property of the institution. The donations of the year were \$10,762.37; the payment of ten thousand dollars on the note to the Life Insurance Company leaving only a balance of ten thousand dollars due, probably to be paid before the report shall be read.

It extracts from the donation-book the summary of all the donations, \$581,748.25. It especially notices the welcome gift by Mr. Appleton of the fund of ten thousand dollars. Dr. Bell's report is one of the most valuable of his satisfactory annual communications. Appended to it is a table, showing all the results of the Asylum from its commencement. Eighty males and fifty-four females remained in that institution at the close of the year. A brief report from Mr. Goodwin, the Superintendent of the Hospital, is published, with the usual analyses. Dec. 29, thirty-three males, twenty-two females, in the Hospital.

Dec. 31, notice of annual meeting was ordered to be sent by the Secretary to all the members of the Corporation, so far as he can ascertain them. Voted "that the present and past Physicians and Surgeons of the institution be requested to suggest to this Board any changes in the management or arrangements of the Hospital, which in their view would increase its usefulness, and also to express their opinion of the necessity of enlarging the buildings." The result of this vote was the enlargement of the Hospital by the addition of two wings, each fifty feet square. Jan. 12, 1844, the Superintendent was authorized to buy a vapor-bath now at the Hospital; and grants were made of two hundred dollars to Dr. Bell, and one hundred each to Mr. and Mrs. Tyler.

At the annual meeting, Jan. 24, 1844, William Appleton, Esq., was elected President in place of Edward Tuckerman, Esq., deceased; and Charles S. Storrow and Edward Wigglesworth, Trustees in place of Messrs. Chapman and Otis, who had declined a reelection, and were thanked for their services during the past year. Feb. 4, on the Board of Consulting Physicians, Joseph Roby took the place of Dr. John Randall, deceased. There were no other changes of officers. Two thousand five hundred copies of the report were ordered to be printed.

On Feb. 18, Mr. Bowditch presented a remonstrance against a new railroad, prayed for near the Asylum, which was adopted, and ordered to be laid before the Legislature; and Messrs. Bowditch and Edwards were appointed to appear before the Committee of the Legislature in support of the same. This was the Maine Railroad, which the Trustees succeeded in keeping off at a *respectful* distance. March 3, fifteen hundred additional copies were ordered of the report, making in all four thousand.

On March 17, Messrs. Amory and Rogers were appointed a Committee to inquire into the facts relative to a donation of five thousand dollars made to this institution by David Sears in 1817, and to report. Certain alterations proposed in the female "lodge" at the Asylum, by Dr. Bell, were agreed to; and the

Steward was authorized to make the same. The Treasurer, and Messrs. Bowditch and Dexter, were appointed a Committee to rebuild the Belknap Estate on Washington-street. A report of the Physicians and Surgeons was received, and a future meeting ordered, at which their attendance was requested; Messrs. Rogers and Dexter being requested to bring the title-deeds, plans, &c. March 26, the proposed meeting took place, the Visiting Physicians and Surgeons being present; and Drs. James Jackson and John Ware, past Physicians. Messrs. Amory and Bowditch were appointed a Committee on the subject of visits at the Hospital. The Chairman, J. A. Lowell, and the Treasurer, were appointed a Committee respecting a legacy of the late Israel Munson. This Committee reported at the next meeting, that they had received the same in United States six per cent stock.

On March 31, Messrs. Rogers and Andrews were appointed a Committee to expend fifty dollars for the formation of a permanent library at the Hospital. "It appearing, by report of the Committee, that in the year 1817 the sum of five thousand dollars was given to this institution by David Sears, Esq., with the wish and intent on his part that the same should be specially applied to the relief of surgical patients; and whereas two free beds are established in the Hospital, specially for cases of accident, — voted that the

said two free beds be henceforth known as the Sears Free Beds." The Committee on Visits at the Hospital made a detailed report, recommending alterations in the rules and regulations, which were adopted. All title-deeds, &c., were ordered to be deposited with the Treasurer. All papers and plans as to enlargement of the Hospital were referred to Messrs. Amory, Dexter, and Storrow.

On April 12, a vote was passed, expressing the gratitude of the Trustees for the munificent bequest of Israel Munson, and also presenting their sincere thanks to Charles Barnard, Esq., the executor, for the prompt and satisfactory manner in which he carried into effect the testator's provisions in favor of this institution. Dr. Hale was permitted to erect a pole in the Hospital-grounds for the purpose of a rain-guage. Messrs. Rogers, Bowditch, and Wigglesworth were appointed a Committee to consider the subject of procuring tablets of the names of benefactors of this institution, and to report thereon to this Board. This Committee have never yet acted. April 17, Mr. Benjamin Cushing was elected Apothecary at the Hospital. Messrs. Rogers and Amory were appointed a Committee as to Physicians charging fees to patients able to pay, who subsequently reported in favor of the same in case of out-door patients. Messrs. Bowditch and J. A. Lowell were appointed a Committee to sue the town

of Somerville, to recover back a tax paid under protest.

Messrs. Rogers, Amory, Edwards, and Andrews, were appointed a Committee to solicit subscriptions for enlarging the Hospital. At the next meeting, May 19, this Committee reported an address to the public, which was adopted; and the President and other officers were requested to aid the Trustees in regard to this proposed appeal; and the address was ordered to be signed by all the officers and the Trustees, and recommitted, with authority to publish and circulate the same.

This address was accordingly published in a pamphlet of fourteen pages, and is a beautiful specimen of typography. It commences with the following account of the original subscriptions:—

“In the year 1816, the Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, who, as early as 1811, had received a charter from the Commonwealth, accompanied by the liberal grant of the ‘Old Province House’ Estate, valued at forty thousand dollars, upon condition that the sum of one hundred thousand dollars should be raised by private subscriptions; and who, in the hope of better things, had struggled patiently on through the long period of non-intercourse, war, and commercial disaster that had intervened,—determined to make an appeal in behalf of the institution over which they nominally presided. They laid their case before the public. They maintained that an establishment for the alleviation and cure of ‘the sick and

insane' was needed; and they appealed to the intelligence and humanity of a Christian people to supply the want. By able statements and addresses, which were extensively published, and by letters and circulars to clergymen of all denominations, and to private individuals of wealth and character throughout the Commonwealth, they informed and awakened the general mind, and created a strong and widely extended sympathy for their cause.

"All things having been thus prepared, they divided themselves into four Committees; and, abandoning their private affairs for a season, they went through our streets, day after day, soliciting subscriptions from all; for they deemed it important that every individual in the community should have an opportunity to contribute to a charity in which each was interested.

"They were greeted everywhere with smiles and kind expressions; and, in the course of a very few days, their books exhibited subscriptions to the amount of one hundred and ten thousand dollars, which were afterwards increased to over one hundred and forty-six thousand dollars. So great a result was worthy of the intelligence and public spirit of Boston and of Massachusetts. As a voluntary subscription from individuals, it is the largest that the statistics of charity in our country can furnish; and, taken in connection with the losses and embarrassments which had preceded, it may be regarded as extraordinary.

"As a noble tribute to a work of great utility and benevolence, we delight to record it for the praise and honor of the men who made it, and for the just consideration and imitation of their children and descendants. It was made by persons of all conditions of life, and in sums varying from twenty thousand dollars to twenty-five cents, — the gift of a poor black, whose name, as it deserves, is recorded with others on the books of the donors. With the proceeds

of this munificent subscription, the Trustees laid the foundation of the Hospital in Allen-street, and of the Asylum at Somerville. The original contributors to this fund have, most of them, gone to render up their account; a few honored names only remain; but the fountain which their benevolence caused to gush forth still continues to flow on in an uninterrupted stream of health and comfort to many a suffering being. Since the commencement of the first buildings, many noble bequests and donations have been received from various public-spirited individuals, which have added greatly to the size and utility of the institution."

The address states ably and conclusively the insufficient accommodations of the Hospital, which, by reason of the great increase of the population of Boston, only provides one bed for every 1,666 individuals, while Paris provides one for every 250 persons, and London for every 500; — that the wealth of Boston has kept pace with its population. It mentions the intention of enlarging the Hospital, by wings fifty feet wide, fifty-seven feet deep, estimated to cost fifty thousand dollars; notices the recent bequest of Mr. Munson of twenty thousand dollars; and ends with the following fervent and eloquent appeal:—

" Upon the principles and for the reasons now explained, the Trustees invite subscriptions in behalf of the Hospital. The existing edifice bears honorable testimony to the virtue and philanthropy of our fathers; and the Trustees will not suffer themselves to doubt that the result of the present effort will prove equally honorable to their sons and successors.

“To found and maintain institutions for the relief of the sick and afflicted is not only the mark but the privilege of civilization; and he who gives evidence of his faithful discharge of duty in this regard will leave a memento of himself, that shall outlive his generation, and be dear to the hearts of his children and of every true man.”

A letter of the six attending Physicians and Surgeons, addressed to the Trustees, in favor of this project, is appended to the report.

On June 2, 1844, Mr. Dexter was asked to prepare plans of the proposed addition to the Hospital, with detailed estimates of the expenses. June 16, Messrs. Bowditch and Dexter were appointed with full powers to settle the south boundary of the Belknap Estate. June 23, Mr. Dexter reported plans of two additional wings; the Subscription Committee reported progress; and a Building Committee of five was appointed,—viz. Messrs. J. A. Lowell, Amory, Andrews, Rogers, and Storrow.

On Aug. 18, Henry Sargent was elected House Physician; George H. Gay, House Surgeon: Benjamin Cushing re-elected Apothecary. Five new rules and regulations were adopted, one of which was, “The smoking of tobacco is prohibited in the premises of the Hospital.” The Committee on enlarging the Hospital presented their report by H. B. Rogers, Chairman; and the same, with the appeal to the public, was recorded *in extenso*, occupying twenty

pages of the records. It details in an interesting manner the circumstances which led to a conviction of the necessity of additional accommodations; the first intention to apply for one new wing, to cost twenty-five thousand dollars, and finally for two, to cost fifty thousand dollars; the publication in several newspapers, and in a pamphlet-form for distribution, of an appeal to the public; a meeting held, at which Thomas H. Perkins was Chairman, and J. Ingersoll Bowditch Secretary; resolutions offered by William Gray, and cordially supported by Drs. James Jackson, John C. Warren, and Hon. Abbott Lawrence; resulting at last in the noble contribution of \$62,550, a result far exceeding the most sanguine expectations of the Committee, being \$12,550 more even than was solicited. And it should always be remembered, that it was in an especial manner to the personal influence and exertions of Mr. Rogers, the Chairman, that the Hospital is indebted for this brilliant result. He was truly indefatigable, and displayed throughout on this occasion most conspicuously the same zeal and good judgment which had heretofore so essentially promoted the interests and welfare of the institution.

On Sept. 15, Messrs. Andrews and Lamb were appointed a Committee, with full powers, to obtain an engraving of the Asylum. It was executed accordingly. Sept. 29, Mortimer B. Tappan was chosen

Apothecary in place of Mr. Cushing, who resigned; and a purchase, for five hundred dollars per acre, of land adjoining Woodworth's house by the Asylum, was authorized. Oct. 11, Henry A. Barrett was elected House Physician in place of Henry Sargent, who had resigned. William P. Gibbs's request for leave to open a window upon the yard of the Belknap Estate was refused. Nov. 3, certain changes were adopted in the rules and regulations of the Hospital respecting the attendance of students on clinical lectures or surgical operations, and the issue of tickets of admission.

On Dec. 1, a letter from Dr. James Jackson, recommending that Miss Rebecca Taylor be continued at the Hospital during her sickness, on account of her long and valuable services to the institution, was read; and it was thereupon voted, "that the Trustees, entirely concurring with the opinions expressed by Dr. Jackson, expect that Miss Taylor will make the Hospital her home during her sickness; and that the Visiting Committee communicate to her Dr. Jackson's letter, and the action of the Board thereon." Miss Taylor is still with us, having been in the institution twenty-five years.* The highest praise that could be bestowed on an attendant at the Hospital would

* On June 30, 1851, I asked Miss Taylor how long she had been connected with the Hospital, and she told me that it was just twenty-five years *that very day*.

be, that she was as good a nurse as Miss Taylor. Dec. 1, the Butler Hospital, of Rhode Island, asking permission to send Dr. Bell to Europe for some months, Mr. Bowditch was requested to send an answer acceding to their request, and to make the necessary arrangements with Dr. Bell for that purpose. The compliment thus paid to Dr. Bell was truly gratifying, both to him and to this institution. On Dec. 15, he was authorized to engage Dr. Fox to assist Dr. Booth during his absence in Europe. Messrs. J. A. Lowell and Dexter were appointed a Committee, with full powers, for insuring the buildings, both of the Hospital and Asylum. A communication from John D. Williams, as to the construction of a reservoir at the Hospital, was referred to Messrs. Rogers and Dexter, with full powers. The interest thus manifested by Mr. Williams was at a later day displayed in a munificent bequest to the institution. Messrs. Wigglesworth and Andrews were appointed to prepare the annual report.

This report is a brief one of four pages. It mentions the payment of the only remaining debt of the institution, — viz. the ten thousand dollars due to the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company; the number of patients at the Asylum, seventy-five males and seventy-seven females: total, one hundred and fifty-two. The prompt receipt of Mr. Munson's

legacy of twenty thousand dollars from Charles Barnard, Esq., his executor, was suitably acknowledged. It gratefully announces the entire success which had attended the application for the enlargement of the Hospital, and subjoins an extract from Mr. Rogers's report, showing the particulars of the noble subscription which had been obtained. Dr. Bell's report of the preceding year having been unusually full and minute, his present one is more concise and general. It occupies ten pages. The whole forms a pamphlet of twenty-five pages. Dec. 27, twenty-five males, twenty-eight females — total, fifty-three — in the Hospital.

At the annual meeting, Jan. 22, 1845, no changes were made in the Board of Trustees. At this meeting was communicated an extract from the will of John Parker, Esq., by which, after the decease of his widow, a ten thousand dollars' fund is given for the support of free beds, with conditions similar to those in the will of the late Miss Brimmer, viz., that the number of free beds in the House at his decease (*i.e.* thirty-seven), should never be diminished; which bequest was gratefully accepted. Motions were then successively made and rejected, to communicate to the executors of Mr. Parker the number of said beds, and to instruct the Trustees never to diminish that number. On Feb. 2, all the Medical and Surgical

Officers, and those of the two departments, were re-elected. Two thousand five hundred copies of the annual report were ordered to be printed. Mr. Amory was appointed to procure an index to the medical and surgical records. An Annual Committee was constituted to purchase books for distribution under the Warren Fund.

On Feb. 16, the Farm School, having an ultimate interest in the bequest of the late John Parker, on breach of condition by this Corporation, were informed of the number of free beds in the Hospital at his decease. Feb. 25, the subject of the expediency of purchasing the Joy Farm was referred to Messrs. Storrow, Dexter, and the Treasurer; who reported that the price asked, fifty thousand dollars, rendered it inexpedient to purchase. On March 2, the Visiting Committee were directed to inquire into the number and condition of the beds at the Hospital. March 30, Miss Taylor's wages were ordered to be paid in full during the period of her sickness. Hon. Edward Everett offered to the Hospital his statue of Apollo; and the Trustees presented to him "their grateful acknowledgments for his beautiful gift, valuable as a memorial, that, amidst his arduous public duties in a foreign country, Mr. Everett feels an undiminished interest in the charitable institutions of his native land." On May 4, a bequest of one hundred dollars

from the late William Russell was transmitted, and gratefully accepted by the Trustees. A communication from Dr. Warren on the means of preventing erysipelas was received, and referred to Messrs. Dexter and Storrow. June 15, Mr. Joseph Burnett was requested to supply the Hospital with medicines for one year, pursuant to a report of Messrs. Rogers and Amory, recommending this arrangement. June 29, Messrs. Hooper and J. A. Lowell were appointed a Finance Committee to advise the Treasurer as to investments.

On July 11, a legacy of one hundred dollars from the late John Brown, Esq., was received and suitably acknowledged. Mr. Brown was one of the unfortunate victims lost in the burning of the "Lexington." Aug. 3, a communication from Drs. Warren and Bigelow, as to a Lying-in department, was referred to Messrs. Rogers, Amory, and F. C. Lowell. Aug. 17, John S. Flint was elected House Physician; Alfred Lambert, House Surgeon; Francis A. Holman, Apothecary. Mr. Tappan had resigned in May. Sept. 14, the Building Committee and Mr. Dexter were instructed to finish the two new wings. Sept. 28, Dr. Bowditch resigned his office of Assistant Physician; and, on Oct. 10, Dr. Samuel Parkman was elected as his successor; and the thanks of the Trustees were presented to Dr. Bowditch for "the fidelity,

ability, and zeal" with which he had discharged his duties. Messrs. Amory, Andrews, Bowditch, Hooper, and Rogers were appointed a Committee to consider what changes are rendered necessary in the discipline and organization of the Hospital, in consequence of its increased size. Mr. Goodwin's illness was announced, and the Visiting Committee were authorized to confer with Mr. Goodwin as to procuring the services of a temporary Superintendent. Nov. 2, Mr. Francis A. Holman was engaged accordingly.

A letter from Mr. Goodwin, resigning his office of Superintendent of the Hospital, and a letter from Mrs. Goodwin, accompanying it, were read; and it was voted that said resignation be accepted, and that the Chairman and Mr. Andrews be a Committee to express to Mr. and Mrs. Goodwin the feelings of respect and sympathy with which the Board part with them, and to tender to them, on behalf of the Trustees, their heartfelt sympathy in their present trials. Mr. Goodwin's salary was ordered to be paid to the end of six months after the close of the present quarter.

The Treasurer and Mr. John A. Lowell were appointed a Committee to receive the legacy of the late Daniel Waldo. The Committee on the subject of a Lying-in Hospital reported unfavorably, and their report was unanimously accepted. Nov. 16, the

extract from Mr. Waldo's will, which gives the munificent sum of forty thousand dollars as a fund, the income of which is applicable generally to the benevolent objects of the institution, was laid before the Board; and the Chairman and Mr. Edwards were appointed a Committee to make a suitable expression of the thanks of the Trustees.

This Committee were also requested to obtain, if possible, portraits of Mr. Waldo and Mr. Munson for this institution. The portraits of these two donors were procured accordingly, and are now in the 'Trustees' room at the Hospital, by the side of the earlier benefactors of the institution, the example of whose liberality they had so nobly imitated. Nov. 16, a grant of three hundred dollars was made to Dr. John Fox for his services during Dr. Bell's visit to Europe. Richard Girdler, of Marblehead, was elected Superintendent in place of Mr. Goodwin, with a salary of one thousand dollars.

A special meeting was held Nov. 26; and the death of Mr. Goodwin, the late Superintendent, being announced, it was "voted that, the Trustees having on a recent occasion expressed to Mr. Goodwin the high sense entertained by them of his official integrity and fidelity, would now respectfully assure Mrs. Goodwin of their sympathy for her and her children, who by this event have lost one so deservedly dear to them.

Voted that this Board will be happy to unite in a public tribute of respect for the deceased, by attending the funeral services." And copies of these votes were communicated to the family of the deceased.

Mr. Goodwin was a person of cultivation and refinement, of great private worth, and of the most mild and amiable disposition ; somewhat wanting, perhaps, in that energy which had characterized his predecessor, Mr. Gurney. Mrs. Goodwin, like her husband, had always taken a deep interest in the patients, and endeavored by all the means in her power to promote their comfort and welfare.

A few days before Mr. Goodwin's death, I called to see him. He was seated in an arm-chair, in the Trustees' room. It was one of the most charming days of the "Indian summer." The south-west wind, cooled by its passage over the water, was admitted freely through the open windows of the apartment. Pleasure carriages and loaded vehicles, in a ceaseless procession, were seen moving rapidly or slowly along the street, and across the bridge to which it led. The river was studded with sail-boats and other vessels. The distant hum of voices, as it arose upon the ear, was drowned by the merry laugh of children just issuing forth from the neighboring school. Around us were all the varied activities of a great city, its full tide of business and of happiness. In that quiet room

sat an old and a dying man, consciously looking, almost for the last time, and with a pensive interest, upon a scene in which he was never more to be an actor. He reached out his hand, and said, "I was thinking of how little importance man is to his fellow-man; how slight an interruption to the great round of affairs results from the death of even the highest among us. It is wisely ordered, that only a little circle of those nearest to us will be, and that but for a short time, conscious of our departure. Yet," added he, "to the individual himself, how vast and mysterious the change! How inconceivable that a spectacle like this will with me so soon give place to the darkness and silence of the grave!"

On Nov. 30, a letter from Thomas Oliver Walker, asking the Board to release their right to the family-tomb of the late Thomas Oliver, was referred to Messrs. Bowditch and Edwards. The office of Treasurer, the duties of which had always hitherto been performed gratuitously, had now become very onerous; and it was voted that there should be attached to it henceforth a salary of five hundred dollars. One hundred dollars was granted to Mr. Holman for his services as Superintendent during the illness of Mr. Goodwin. A free bed for life was placed at the disposal of John Tappan, Esq., who was one of the executors of the late Daniel Waldo. Dec. 14, the Com-

mittee on Mr. Oliver's tomb reported by Mr. Bowditch, "that said tomb is held by this Corporation, not as their property, but in trust as the burial-place of Mr. Oliver and his family." Mr. J. A. Lowell was requested to advise the Treasurer as to investment of the Waldo Fund. Messrs. Storrow and Amory were appointed to prepare the annual report. This report, like its immediate predecessor, is quite brief, occupying but four pages, and forming, with the accompanying documents, a pamphlet of twenty-five pages. It states the present property of the institution, exclusive of grounds and buildings, at \$238,369.91; mentions "the receipt of \$40,000, the munificent bequest of the late Daniel Waldo;" also the extra dividend from the Life Insurance Company. It then proceeds:—

"Colonel John M. Goodwin, who for many years past had filled the office of Superintendent of the Hospital, died in November last, after a short and severe illness. The Trustees take this occasion to bear testimony to the fidelity and devotion to the interests of the Hospital which he manifested throughout the period of his connection with it. During his illness, his place was temporarily supplied by Dr. Holman, the House Apothecary; and it has since been permanently filled by the appointment of Captain Richard Girdler, who entered upon his duties on the first day of December last. By this appointment, the Trustees, to some of whom he has long been known, believe that they have secured the services of a gentleman perfectly qualified by his zeal and ability to promote the welfare of the institution."

The weekly expense of each patient was five dollars and fifty-two cents. At the Asylum, at close of the year, were seventy-eight males, seventy-three females. Dr. Bell's report, which is twelve pages in length, is, as usual, clear, interesting, and satisfactory. Dec. 25, twenty-two males and twenty-seven females were in the Hospital.

On Dec. 28, a communication that windows had been opened over the Belknap Estate was referred to Mr. Bowditch and the Treasurer. The Committee appointed Oct. 10 reported a new draft of the rules and regulations, which was ordered to be printed; and, by a subsequent vote, the number of copies was fixed at two thousand. Jan. 16, 1846, an application of the widow of the late George Hallet, to purchase a free bed for life, was referred to the Standing Committee on Free Beds, with full power. At the annual meeting, Jan. 28, 1846, the proposed alterations in the by-laws, received by the Trustees, were adopted. Theodore Lyman was elected Vice-President in place of Jonathan Phillips, and J. Thomas Stevenson, Esq., a Trustee in place of Mr. Storrow, who severally declined. Mr. William W. Stone was subsequently elected by the Board of Visitors a Trustee in place of Henry Edwards. Votes of thanks were adopted by the Corporation, acknowledging the services of the gentlemen who thus retired. Mr. Phillips was son of our

first President and earliest benefactor; and he had served as Trustee for sixteen years. Mr. Edwards had likewise been an active member of the Board for ten years. Among the changes introduced by the new rules and regulations, and rendered necessary by the enlargement of the Hospital, was the increase of the Medical and Surgical Staff.

Feb. 1, there were elected, as a Board of Consultation, Drs. James Jackson, George C. Shattuck, John Jeffries, and Edward Reynolds. Visiting Physicians, Jacob Bigelow, Enoch Hale, John B. S. Jackson, Henry I. Bowditch, John D. Fisher, and Oliver W. Holmes; the three last being new appointments. Visiting Surgeons, Drs. John C. Warren, George Hayward, Solomon D. Townsend, and Drs. Henry J. Bigelow, Samuel Parkman, and J. Mason Warren; the three last being also new appointments. Admitting Physician, Dr. William Henry Thayer. The officers of the two departments were severally re-elected. The salary of the Steward of the Asylum was raised to one thousand dollars. A Free-bed Standing Committee was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Rogers and J. A. Lowell: Committee on Warren Fund, Messrs. Rogers and Andrews; on the Book of Donations, Mr. Rogers; on Finance, Messrs. Hooper and J. A. Lowell. The subject of a pending petition for a railroad from Waltham to the westerly part of

Boston was referred to Mr. Bowditch, with power to employ counsel to oppose the same; Messrs. Stevenson and J. A. Lowell were appointed to oppose any modification of the charters for life insurance which might jeopardize the interests of this institution; — both which Committees reported a satisfactory result at the next meeting. Two thousand copies of the annual report were ordered to be printed.

On Feb. 22, in answer to a communication of Dr. John C. Warren, inquiring the views of this Board as to the erection of a Medical College in this vicinity, a vote was passed "that they cannot perceive any advantage to this institution to arise therefrom." March 1, a safe was ordered for the use of the Superintendent at Hospital. March 29, a letter from Dr. Bell, recommending open fireplaces in parts of the Belknap Ward at the Asylum, was referred to the Visiting Committee. May 3, Messrs. Andrews and Dexter were appointed a Committee "to erect a suitable monument to the memory of Jeremiah and Mary Belknap, with full powers." Five hundred dollars was placed at the disposal of Dr. Bell for the relief of poor patients. Mr. Dexter reported that the new wing would be ready for occupancy in the present week; and the subject of inviting the benefactors to visit the Hospital was referred to the Visiting Committee. Such an invitation was accordingly issued,

and large numbers availed themselves of it. May 17, Dr. Bell's expenses to Washington, to attend a late meeting of the Superintendents of Insane Institutions, were ordered to be paid. The subject of building a new kitchen, and of ventilating the (old) east wing of the Hospital, was referred to the Building Committee, who reported in favor of both measures; the estimated expense of the kitchen, as reported by Mr. Dexter, being ten thousand dollars.

On June 28, a certain gate erected by the Corporation was declared to be with the sufferance and permission of the devisees of Mr. Joy. John C. Dalton, jun., was elected House Apothecary in the place of Dr. Holman, who had asked to be released from his duties. From July 1 to July 31, there were seven deaths at the Hospital, though there had been but nine during the whole preceding quarter. On Aug. 12, Dr. Charles Bertody was chosen House Physician, and Dr. Charles F. Heywood, House Surgeon, for the year ensuing. Aug. 30, the wings of the dwelling-house at the Asylum were ordered to be raised one story; Mr. Dexter, Dr. Bell, and Mr. Tyler, being a Committee, with full powers. Oct. 16, books were ordered to be kept as a record of all out-door patients. Oct. 21, an annual extra grant of five hundred dollars was ordered henceforth to be passed to Dr. Bell, in addition to his regular salary; he

having filled his office for "ten years to the high satisfaction of the Trustees, and benefit of the institution." Nov. 22, this act of the Board was acknowledged in a letter from Dr. Bell, so gratifying to the Board that it was ordered to be copied in their records. The Superintendent of the Hospital was authorized to purchase a chair on wheels for the use of the patients. Dec. 6, a copy of the will of the late John Redman, making this institution his residuary devisee (after certain trusts which will last during the life-time of a son of feeble intellect), was laid before the Board; and this munificent bequest of what will prove to be at least one hundred thousand dollars was most gratefully accepted. In view of his son's situation, he had intended to leave all his property to the city on certain trusts. He consulted the late Hon. John R. Adan, who satisfied him that the practical effect of such a devise would merely be a very slight reduction of taxes of the citizens, for which no one would thank him. The whole property thus bequeathed to us results from the increased value of the various parcels of real estate in Boston, judiciously selected by Mr. Redman, and purchased as from time to time he found an opportunity. On the back of his will is an enumeration of these estates, the first cost of each, the amount of mortgage, and their present estimated value. It is a document which gives strik-

ing evidence of the testator's sagacity and good judgment.* Messrs. Stevenson and Stone were appointed to prepare the annual report.

This report occupies five pages, and with the accompanying documents forms a pamphlet of twenty-five pages. It states the income of the year at \$24,415.52, and the expenses at \$24,318.91; weekly expenses of each patient at Hospital, \$6.43; twenty-two outdoor patients treated during the year; the new west wing finished and occupied since July last; the erection of the new separate kitchen. It tenders the thanks of the Trustees to the annual subscribers for free beds; mentions that information had been received that Mr. John Redman had made this institution his residuary legatee; and states that "the condition of the M'Lean Asylum justifies its reputation."

* This memorandum on Mr. Redman's will was as follows:—

	Cost.	Value.	Difference.
Chamber-street Estate	\$16,000	\$17,000	\$1,000
31, Washington Street	22,000	30,000	8,000
Milk Street	50,000	60,000	10,000
Chauncy Place	19,000	20,000	1,000
Washington and Summer Streets† . .	60,000	80,000	20,000
Wheeler Estate, Washington Street .	10,000	15,000	5,000
Melodeon	45,000	78,000	33,000
Essex and Washington Streets . . .	22,000	33,000	11,000
Bacon Lot, Washington Street . . .	36,000	45,000	9,000
Utica Street	25,000	30,000	5,000
Temple Street	4,500	4,500	
Flats by South Bridge	9,500	15,000	5,500
South Boston	2,200	3,000	800
Roxbury	4,400	4,600	200
Cambridgeport	1,000	1,500	500
Snodon Lot, Roxbury	2,100	2,100	
	<hr/> \$328,700	<hr/> \$438,700	<hr/> \$110,000

† This estate was sold for \$94,548.66, making a further gain of \$14,548.66.

Its expenses during the year have been \$32,892; its receipts, about \$1,300 more than that sum. Mr. Girdler's report occupies four pages, containing various interesting analyses and abstracts, showing the condition of the department under his care. Dr. Bell's report occupies nine pages. It contains a table of admissions and results for the last ten years. It closes as follows: "I cannot deprive myself of the pleasure of again expressing my acknowledgments for the uniformly intelligent and harmonious mode in which I have been supported by all those so many years associated with me in these labors."

Dec. 20, "a letter from Dr. William T. G. Morton offering to the Hospital the right to use his discovery for the alleviation of pain in surgical operations was read; and it was voted that the offer of Dr. Morton be accepted, and that the Secretary be directed to return the thanks of the institution to Dr. Morton in behalf of this Board." The report of Mr. Rogers on the subject of a Lying-in Hospital was taken from the files, and loaned to Dr. Homans for the use of the Trustees of the Lying-in Hospital. It was an extremely interesting and able document. Dec. 31, in Hospital, twenty-four males, forty-three females: total, sixty-seven. Jan. 20, 1847, a communication from the State Mutual Life Insurance Company, as to their liability to pay part of their

profits to the Hospital, was referred to Messrs. Stevenson and Bowditch.

At the annual meeting of the Corporation, Jan. 27, 1847, the same officers were re-elected; the Board of Visitors subsequently choosing J. Wiley Edmands, Esq., Trustee in place of William W. Stone, who declined a re-election, and was thanked for his services. Feb. 14, there was not a single change in any of the officers chosen or committees appointed in the preceding year. Two thousand copies were ordered of the annual report. Feb. 28, one of Oberhauser's microscopes was ordered to be purchased for use of Admitting Physician, at the cost of fifty dollars. A grant of fifty dollars was made to Dr. Thayer, the Admitting Physician, in addition to his salary for the past year. March 14, the Board suggest that the exception in the rules as to the admission of patients, allowing the Physicians and Surgeons to send them, applies only to cases of emergency, where a delay of a few hours would be attended with serious consequences. This vote was subsequently rescinded, June 2. April 26, twenty-five dollars was voted towards buying a wooden leg for Ann Kerr, a patient in the Hospital. April 21, five hundred dollars was appropriated towards aiding the poorer patients at the Asylum. May 9, Messrs. Dexter and Rogers were appointed a Committee respecting a new fence round

the Hospital-grounds, with directions to ascertain the probable cost, &c.

On May 23, a case of a post-mortem examination, alleged to have been made contrary to the wishes of friends, was discussed; and directions were given to the officer who had performed the same. June 2, a special meeting was held, attended by Drs. Warren and Bigelow; and the Physicians and Surgeons were authorized to make regulations as to the treatment of out-door patients, and the dispensing of medicines to them. June 27, the new east wing being completed, the contributors and the public were invited to visit it. The Committee on the Monument to Jeremiah and Mary Belknap reported, that, after consultation with the family of the deceased, they had erected an appropriate monument. Plans and estimates of a new fence were submitted by the Committee on that subject. Nothing, however, has yet been done: the old and unsightly fence still stands. A neighbor once said to me: "Your institution always reminds me of a fine, likely-looking man disfigured by a rusty coat and a 'shocking bad hat.'" The Visiting Committee's record of July 2, 1847, as made up by Messrs. Stevenson and Bowditch, has the following entry: "One of our patients having been discovered to have the itch, Dr. Holmes was directed to discharge her as soon as it can be done

with safety to her, and was instructed never to permit any similar admission." On July 16, the entry is made: "The new east wing is now open for the reception of patients." Aug. 10, Dr. Ralph K. Jones and John G. Sewall were elected House Physicians; Thomas Andrews, jun., and John C. Dalton, jun., House Surgeons; John E. Hathaway, Apothecary, whose salary is to be (if he is re-elected) \$250 for the first year, \$300 for the second year, \$350 for the third year. Oct. 3, the salary of the Superintendent, in consequence of his increased duties, and the highly acceptable manner in which they were performed, was increased, in July 1, to fifteen hundred dollars. On Oct. 15, the free beds were now fixed at eighty.

Nov. 7, the Visiting Committee reported against the word "free" being added to the tickets over the beds of the patients, to distinguish *free* from *pay* patients. On Nov. 21, a communication from Dr. Henry I. Bowditch, as to the formation of a Medical Library at the Hospital, was referred to Messrs. Rogers and Amory, who subsequently recommended an appropriation of two hundred and fifty dollars for that purpose. The devisees of Mr. Joy desiring to sell their farm, and with a view of testing the title, the Hospital agreed to buy, and a case was made for the Supreme Judicial Court. Dec. 5, a communication was received from the executors of the late William

Oliver; and the Board expressed their gratitude for his liberal bequest. Messrs. Bowditch and Edmands were appointed a Committee to prepare the annual report. Dec. 31, in Hospital, thirty-seven males, seventy-seven females: Americans, fifty-one; foreigners, sixty-three. Jan. 14, 1848, Dr. Thayer presented the first volume of his Index to the Medical Records, and was thanked for "the very satisfactory manner in which it was executed." Jan. 19, a writ served on the Corporation in favor of William Sohier was referred to Mr. Bowditch, with full powers. This was the amicable suit to try the title of the Joy Estate. Dr. Thayer to be paid one hundred and twenty-five dollars per volume for these records.

SUMMARY. — No similar previous period of the history of the Hospital was in all respects more brilliant and successful than that which had now closed. The capacity of the Hospital had been doubled by the erection of two new wings and the new kitchen. The Belknap Estate in Washington-street had been rebuilt. The noble public subscription of \$62,550; the ten thousand dollars' donation of Mr. Appleton; the bequests of Messrs. Waldo and Munson of forty thousand and twenty-thousand dollars; and the bequests of John Parker, William Oliver, and John Redman, which, being subject to life-interests, have not

yet been received, but which will eventually be ten thousand, fifty thousand, and one hundred thousand dollars respectively; with several other smaller but gratifying donations, — distinguish this period of five years from all its predecessors. The death of one faithful officer (Mr. Goodwin) had led to the appointment of the present highly acceptable incumbent. A fitting tribute of respect had been paid to the memory of Jeremiah and Mary Belknap. But, above all, the close of this period was signalized by the ether discovery. The importance of this discovery induced the Committee for preparing the annual report at this time to give it their especial consideration, and decides me now to devote a separate chapter to that part of their report. This report is the longest ever published (fifty-four pages), making, with the documents attached, a pamphlet of seventy-two pages. It alludes in the following terms to several of the most recent donations. Of John Redman's bequest it says: "As the legacy of a Boston mechanic, this will ever be a truly memorable instance of munificence; while its amount entitles the donor to be ranked among the very first benefactors of this institution." After mentioning the suitable acknowledgment of Mr. Oliver's bounty, the report proceeds: "With no less gratitude have the Trustees acknowledged another legacy of an especially interesting character received within this

period. Miss Sarah Clough (for many years a valued and confidential domestic in the family of Joseph W. Revere, Esq., of this city) bequeathed to this institution the residue of her property, the little savings of her own personal labors. The amount which has been paid to the Treasurer, pursuant to this bequest, is \$599.84. There never has been a donation, whatever its magnitude, more honorable either to the donor or to the institution. These new evidences of sympathy and approval cannot fail to stimulate us all to continued and renewed exertions in the discharge of the public trusts confided to us." The report states the whole invested property of the Hospital at \$168,092.88; cost of Hospital, \$249,572.38; and of the Asylum, \$246,850.98. It gives *timely notice* that in A.D. 1916 the Province House will revert to the institution. It states that the current expenses of the Hospital required \$20,710.25 to be paid from the general funds. It describes the present condition of the Hospital as follows:—

"The condition of the Hospital in Boston was never, at any former period, more entirely satisfactory. The extensive improvements which were projected a few years since, and which the munificence of the public alone rendered practicable, are now entirely completed. Two new wings have been erected, of which the one last finished was opened for the reception of patients during the past summer. In these wings are four wards, each about fifty feet square.

Upon entering one of these apartments, the visitor sees a floor beautifully polished, walls and ceilings of great simplicity and elegance, and twenty neat iron bedsteads arranged around at regular intervals, with their clean coverings and curtains. The ventilation is excellent, and the air in these wards is generally as pure as could be desired. The old wings have also been entirely remodelled, chiefly for the purpose of introducing the same satisfactory system of ventilation. An entirely distinct brick building, of large size, has been erected, designed for all the domestic operations of cooking, washing, ironing, &c.; and containing excellent cellars, store-rooms, &c. The most exact and particular housekeeper may well look with admiration upon the various details of the very perfect arrangements of this building. It is connected with the main edifice by a covered passageway; and, by means of dumb-waiters, articles sent from the kitchen are speedily distributed throughout the different wards. A new entrance has been made into the Hospital-yard, and a new avenue laid out. Nothing is wanting, except a brick wall or iron railing to enclose the grounds. To this object, as being one of mere ornament, the Trustees have not felt justified in applying the funds of the institution. There is, however, reason to believe, that, at no very distant day, the present unsightly fence may give place to one of a more durable material and elegant design.

“These improvements enable us to accommodate one hundred and forty-one, or, if need be, one hundred and fifty patients, instead of sixty; or, in other words, have nearly trebled our means of usefulness. They have been executed under the superintendence of George M. Dexter, Esq., one of the Trustees, upon whose taste and skill as an architect they reflect the highest credit. The expense attending these measures has been very great,—much greater than was at first estimated. This, indeed, is partly

owing to the fact that so much more has been done than was originally contemplated by the Trustees; the whole institution having been, as it were, renovated. The total cost has been \$103,276, besides \$20,000 called for, but not yet paid,—making \$123,276, and being double the whole amount of the public subscription of 1844. Fortunately it has not been found necessary to sell any of the permanently invested stocks of the institution; there having been received from the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, since these improvements were undertaken, three annual dividends of \$9,000 each, and one extra dividend of \$24,000, making in all no less a sum than \$51,000. The result, however, has been the reduction of those funds, the income of which was important to meet the increased current expenses of the institution, which will henceforth involve the support of twice our former number of free beds. The receipts during the past year from individual subscriptions (\$3,100) and from funds, the income of which is specially appropriated to this object (viz. the donation of Hon. David Sears, and the legacies of the Messrs. Phillips and Belknap, and of the late Misses Tucker and Brimmer), were sufficient only for the maintenance of forty-one free beds. To this increase of the number of free beds, the Trustees feel pledged by their circular, issued in 1844, asking for subscriptions. Any annual deficiency which might otherwise occur will, however, we trust, be obviated by the aid of an increased number of annual contributors. We doubt, indeed, if it is possible for any one to do more good in a year with the sum of a hundred dollars, than by devoting it to the maintenance of a free bed in the Hospital.

“That this enlargement of our buildings had become necessary, seems proved by the fact, that, of the eighty free beds, all except *three* were actually occupied on the first of January, 1848; and it should be remembered, that *two* are,

as far as possible, always reserved for cases of sudden accident; such cases, by a fundamental rule of the institution, being admissible without any previous permit.

“A large amount of relief is administered to out-door patients. This class has, however, of course diminished since the opening of the new wings; many of them being doubtless now admitted as inmates. This increase of our establishment has rendered it necessary to double the former number of physicians and surgeons; the present number being twelve. The labors and responsibility of Capt. Girdler, the Superintendent, have also been greatly increased. For this reason, and because his duties have always been performed in a manner so uniformly acceptable to all connected with the institution, the Trustees recently voted to enlarge his salary by an annual grant of five hundred dollars. The neatness, taste, vigilance, and kindness of Mrs. Girdler have caused the Trustees to entertain an equally high sense of the value of her services as Matron. There has, indeed, been a general disposition manifested on the part of all the resident officers, attendants, and nurses, to treat the patients with that attention, tenderness, and consideration which is their due. Any charge of failure or omission in this respect would be sure to receive from this Board the most prompt notice and the strictest investigation.

“To Dr. William H. Thayer, our Admitting Physician, the Trustees are indebted for a folio volume, just completed, which forms a most valuable index to the hundred and twenty-six volumes of *medical* reports of cases in the Hospital. It contains, classified under the head of each separate disease (260 in number), all the cases which have been treated from 1821 to 1845, with the result of the treatment, and a reference to the book and page where the details of each case may be found. We trust that he will

proceed to render equally accessible the records of the *surgical* department of the Hospital.

“A small sum has been appropriated for the formation of a Medical Library, to consist of books of reference, for the use of the Physicians and Surgeons; and an annual appropriation will probably be continued for this object.”

Among the documents annexed is a table, showing the results of the admissions at the Hospital from its establishment in 1821; being the first table of the sort ever prepared for that department, and containing slight errors and discrepancies, which do not affect its general results. These errors consist in the Superintendent's having omitted from the list of discharges all patients *not treated*, though they were in the list of patients *received*. This alone made an error of twenty-seven in one year. The series of numbers remaining at the end of each year was also made erroneous by each number being placed one year out of the way. I was at the time unable to ascertain or correct these mistakes; and therefore, in preparing this report as Chairman of the Committee, I appended to the table in question a note that it had “a few slight inaccuracies.” It is believed, however, that the table prepared at the end of this history is strictly accurate in all particulars, as framed from the official reports of each year; and that its results may be depended on with entire confidence. Mr. Girdler's and Dr. Bell's reports occupy four and five pages respectively.

The report closes with the following notice of this department of the institution : —

“ There have been under treatment, during the year, three hundred and forty-three inmates, of whom eighty-seven have recovered, and thirty-three have died. The number remaining, Dec. 31, 1847, was one hundred and seventy-three. The whole number received from the opening of the Asylum, Oct. 6, A.D. 1818, to this time, is 2,864.

“ The M'Lean Asylum has continued, during the past year, to be conducted upon those salutary principles which the experience of later times, in respect to treatment of the insane, has introduced into this department of medical science.

“ The day of physical restraints and coercion has passed away for ever. Kindness, amusements, opportunities of exercise, and agreeable employments, are now our chief remedial agents. The item of ‘diversions’ has its definite place in all our quarterly accounts of expenditures. The natural beauties of our situation, with its extensive prospects,—our garden, with its terraces and its pond,—the bowling alleys, the billiard room, the dancing hall, the sewing circle,—have solaced and done much to restore many an inmate of our institution. As a pleasing manifestation of the desire felt by its officers to afford innocent gratification to those under their charge, we may mention, that (a reservoir having been constructed near the summer-house, and pipes laid from it) the garden has this year received the additional ornament of a marble basin, tenanted with gold and silver fish, and having a small but graceful jet rising from its midst. The Trustees have also been, as usual, much gratified by promoting the same objects, as they had opportunity, during their weekly visits. Any trifling attentions, which we have been enabled to pay upon such

occasions, have always been agreeably received and kindly acknowledged.

“The Board are aware that three railroads already pass very near to the enclosed grounds of the Asylum. Still another has been applied for at the present session of the Legislature. A Committee has been appointed to prevent, if possible, by a most earnest remonstrance, a measure so prejudicial to the welfare of this department of our institution.

“The past season has been remarkable for the prevalence of dysentery throughout this vicinity, and it will long be remembered with peculiar sadness by those connected with the Asylum. Between July 26 and Sept. 20, no less than seventy decided cases occurred among the patients, whose whole number did not, within that period, exceed one hundred and seventy: twelve of these cases terminated fatally. Of those who died, there were several who had been with us for a long series of years, whose recovery was hopeless. Others, on the contrary, had been with us but a short time, and might, after a brief interval, have carried back joy and happiness to the circles of family and friendship. More than one death we can recall, which must have inspired in those to whom the patients were dear, feelings of the most severe grief and disappointment. There were, besides, ten cases of this disease among the household at the M'Lean Asylum during the same period. That, of those attacked, so large a proportion recovered, cannot fail to excite surprise and gratitude. We doubt not that the result may, in no inconsiderable degree, be attributed to the unremitting efforts of the officers and attendants, whose zeal, patience, and self-denial are most fully acknowledged in the report of the Physician and Superintendent. Mr. Tyler, our Steward, was prostrated by this disease; and his recovery was so slow, that, for some time, the Trustees were apprehensive

lest he should find his strength insufficient for a continuance of those duties which he has so long and so ably performed. He has the best wishes of the Board for his speedy and entire restoration to health and strength.

“While oppressed by unusual official cares and anxieties, Dr. Bell, our Physician and Superintendent, was called to experience the bitterness of repeated domestic bereavements. His second child,* a daughter of ten years of age, of a bright and sunny disposition, with rare moral and intellectual endowments,—and another, an interesting boy,† of five years of age,—within a few short weeks, fell victims, the one to this epidemic, the other to consumption. To the afflicted parents we present the assurance of the profound and respectful sympathy of the Trustees. Now that the loved ones of earth have been taken, may these mourners the better see Heaven’s love! May their grief be soothed by the gentle ministry of time,—by the hallowed memories of the past, the high duties of the present, and the sacred hopes of the future!”

* Mary Frances died Aug. 22.

† Henry James died Oct. 3.

CHAPTER IX.

1847—1849.

THE ETHER DISCOVERY, AND CONTROVERSY BETWEEN DRs. MORTON AND JACKSON. — LIST OF MORE THAN TWO DOZEN PAMPHLETS. — EXTRACTS FROM A FEW OF THEM. — HOSPITAL REPORT. — VINDICATION OF SAME. — DR. SMILIE'S ADDRESS. — CONGRESS REPORT. — THE CASKET AND RIBBON. — EXTENT TO WHICH ETHER IS USED AT THE HOSPITAL.

THE patience of the public has been long since thoroughly wearied out by the ether controversy. More than two dozen pamphlets have appeared on the subject, which, collected together (as they have been in the Boston Library), fill three respectably-sized octavo volumes.* I have no intention to renew

* The following is a list of these pamphlets in the order of publication:—

1. Insensibility during Surgical Operations, produced by Inhalation. By H. J. Bigelow, M.D. Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, Nov. 18, 1846.

2. The Inhalation of an Ethereal Vapor to prevent Sensibility to Pain during Surgical Operations. By J. F. Flagg, M.D. Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, Dec. 2, 1846.

3. Inhalation of Ethereal Vapor for the Prevention of Pain in Surgical Operations. By John C. Warren, M.D., &c. &c. Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, Dec. 9, 1846.

4. Insensibility during Surgical Operations, produced by Inhalation. By H. J. Bigelow, M.D. (in reply to Dr. J. F. Flagg). Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, Dec. 9, 1846.

5. Inhalation of Ether. By J. Mason Warren, M.D. Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, March 24, 1847.

6. Circular, by W. T. G. Morton. pp. 88. Boston, March, 1847.

this controversy. I shall merely make such extracts from five of these pamphlets as I think appropri-

7. History of the Discovery of the Application of Nitrous Oxide Gas, Ether, and other Vapors, to Surgical Operations. By Horace Wells. pp. 26. Hartford, March, 1847.

8. Some Account of the First Use of Sulphuric Ether by Inhalation in Surgical Practice. By George Hayward, M.D. pp. 8. Boston, April, 1847.

9. Discovery by Charles T. Jackson, M.D. of the Applicability of Sulphuric Ether in Surgical Operations. By Martin Gay, M.D. pp. 48. Boston, June, 1847.

10. A Review of Dr. M. Gay's Statement of Dr. C. T. Jackson's Claims to the Discovery, &c. &c. By J. B. S. Jackson, M.D. Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, June 30, 1847.

11. Some Account of the Letheon; or, Who is the Discoverer? By Edward Warren. pp. 88. Boston, August, 1847.

12. Mémoire sur la Découverte du Nouvel Emploi de l'Ether Sulfurique par W. T. G. Morton, de Boston, Etats Unis; suivi des Pièces Justificatives. pp. 60. Paris, 1847.

13. Report of the Board of Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, presented to the Corporation at their Annual Meeting, Jan. 26, 1848.

14. Account of a New Anæsthetic Agent as a Substitute for Sulphuric Ether in Surgery and Midwifery. By J. Y. Simpson, M.D., F.R.S.E., &c. pp. 24. Reprinted, New York, January, 1848.

15. Reprint of the Report of the Trustees of Massachusetts General Hospital, with a History of the Ether Discovery, and Dr. Morton's Memoir to the French Academy. Edited by R. H. Dana, jun. pp. 48. Boston, March, 1848.

16. Rapport des Administrateurs de l'Hôpital Général de Massachusetts, suivi de l'Histoire de la Découverte de l'Ether, &c. &c. R. H. Dana, jun., éditeur. pp. 144. Cambridge, 1848.

17. A Defence of Dr. Charles T. Jackson's Claims to the Discovery of Etherization; containing Testimony disproving the Claims set up in Favor of Mr. W. T. G. Morton in the Report of the Trustees of the Massachusetts Hospital, and in No. 201 of Littell's Living Age. By Joseph L. and Henry C. Lord. pp. 37. Boston, June, 1848.

18. The Ether Controversy: Vindication of the Hospital Report of 1848. By N. I. Bowditch. pp. 32. Boston, July, 1848.

19. Reports of the First Exhibition of the Worcester County Mechanics' Association at Worcester, September, 1848. pp. 74.

20. Ether and Chloroform; their Discovery and Physiological Effects, &c. By H. J. Bigelow, M.D. pp. 45. Boston, November, 1848.

21. Memorial addressed to the Trustees of the Massachusetts General

ate to the present publication, viz. "The Hospital Report," and its "Vindication;" "Dr. Smilie's Address;" "The Congressional Report;" and an article in "The American Journal of Dental Surgery," since separately printed under the title of "The Casket and the Ribbon," which is the latest of the series, and reviews the Congressional Report and the Minority Report, presented by two members of the same Committee.

Hospital, in Behalf of C. T. Jackson, M. D., by his Attorneys, J. L. and H. C. Lord. pp. 27. Boston, December, 1848.

22. Report of the Select Committee of the Congress of the United States, to whom was referred the Memorial of William T. G. Morton, asking Compensation from Congress for the Discovery of the Pain-subduing Property of Sulphuric Ether. pp. 46. Washington, D. C., Feb. 23, 1849.

23. Minority Report of the same Committee. pp. 99. Washington, D. C., Feb. 23, 1849.

24. Rapport du Comité du Sénat et de la Chambre des Représentants des Etats Unis d'Amerique, auquel on réfèra le Memoire de William T. G. Morton, demandant une Compensation, &c. &c. pp. 35. Le 23 Fevrier, 1849.

25. The Casket and the Ribbon; or, the Honors of Ether. pp. 26. Baltimore, 1849.

The Volumes of the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal from August, 1846, to August, 1849, inclusive, contain communications on "Letheon." To these I add —

26. An Address delivered before the Castleton Medical College, on the History of the Original Application of Anæsthetic Agents, May 17, 1848. By E. R. Smilie, M. D.

I. THE HOSPITAL REPORT OF JANUARY, 1848.

This Report was re-published in Hays's "Medical Journal." It also re-appears (in connection with an article of R. H. Dana, jun.) in Littell's "Living Age." Dr. Morton caused it to be translated into French, and laid before the Academy of Sciences at Paris. After stating the donations, &c., which had been made to the institution, this Report proceeds as follows:—

It is hoped, that, with these various "means and appliances" at command, the institution has hitherto accomplished, and will ever continue to accomplish, the designs of its founders and benefactors. In one striking instance it certainly has not been found wanting. The past year has tested the unspeakable importance of the recent discovery of the properties of *sulphuric ether*; no less than one hundred and thirty-two operations, many of them of much severity, having been already performed with entire success on patients who had been rendered insensible through its benign influence. By overcoming all muscular and nervous resistance, it has extended the domain of surgery; making operations possible which could not have been performed, and which would not have been attempted, without its aid; and, by the removal of the fear of pain, it has greatly increased the actual number of operations. It has already become an established remedy throughout all the chief cities of Europe, and its benefits have reached even the distant natives of Singapore and of Canton.

With just pride, therefore, the Trustees would now record the fact, that within the walls of this building were

witnessed the first painless capital operations that were ever performed. The world at large, indeed, is in no small degree indebted to the Medical and Surgical Officers of this institution. But for their immediate appreciation of the importance of this discovery, and their considerate, but, at the same time, zealous and prompt co-operation with Dr. Morton, in availing themselves of its use, its application might have been restricted to the comparatively unimportant operations of the dentist. Who can say what might have been the result, had his overtures been received with excessive caution? An answer may perhaps be found in the fact, that it is only within a few weeks, *if at all*, that the use of sulphuric ether has been introduced into our sister institution in Pennsylvania. This appears by "the Annual Report on Surgery, read before the College of Physicians, Nov. 2, 1847, by Isaac Parish, M.D.," where it is said: "*At the Pennsylvania Hospital in this city, it has not been tried at all*; being considered by the judicious surgeons of that institution as a remedy of doubtful safety, or, at least, as not sufficiently established to warrant them in its employment." And yet, in the same report, we find the following sentence: "But, when we extend our vision to foreign countries, and call to mind that during the past nine months it has been adopted in most of the large hospitals of Great Britain, in the vast hospitals of Paris, and for the last six months in the numerous institutions of like character in Germany, including the immense hospitals at Vienna and Berlin, we can form some idea of the extent to which it has been carried, and of the firm hold which this great American discovery has taken of the mind of the scientific world."

The first operators who applied it were Drs. John C. Warren and George Hayward, Surgeons of this Hospital. The enthusiasm of one of their colleagues, who had been

especially earnest in urging the performance of these operations, led him to become the first champion of ether in this country, by a publication of much merit, and also to transmit the earliest account of the discovery to England, where it was at once hailed with rapturous exultation. And another, a favorite alike of Science and the Muses, has thus vividly described its beneficent effects: "The knife is searching for disease,—the pulleys are dragging back dislocated limbs,—nature herself is working out the primal curse, which doomed the tenderest of her creatures to the sharpest of her trials; but the fierce extremity of suffering has been steeped in the waters of forgetfulness, and the deepest furrow in the knotted brow of agony has been smoothed for ever." Even the grave and dispassionate Dr. Warren himself (in a yet unpublished work, which he kindly communicated to the Committee, and which embodies the matured results of his own experience upon this subject) indulges in equally graphic language: "Who could have imagined, that drawing the knife over the delicate skin of the face might produce a sensation of unmixed delight!—that the turning and twisting of instruments in the most sensitive bladder might be accompanied by a beautiful dream!"

Professor Simpson, of Edinburgh, has discovered that a new agent (chloroform) possesses the same powers as sulphuric ether, and, as he thinks, many and great advantages over it. The universal law of intellect is progress. But, though others may erect the superstructure, the corner-stone of the building will preserve an imperishable record of its founder. The name of Fulton will never be forgotten. Yet how vast is the difference between the first humble steamboat that slowly toiled up the Hudson, and those majestic structures which now defy the storms of the Atlantic!

As philanthropists, we may well rejoice that we have had any agency, however slight, in conferring on poor, suffering humanity, so precious a gift. Unrestrained and free as God's own sunshine, it has gone forth to cheer and gladden the earth. It will awaken the gratitude of the present and of all coming generations. The student who, from distant lands or in distant ages, may visit this spot, will view it with increased interest, as he remembers that here was first demonstrated one of the most glorious truths of science.

Pursuant to an informal suggestion of the Board, who regard this discovery as the most important event which has occurred in the history of this institution, the Committee proceed to make a more extended investigation, in respect to its origin, than would otherwise have been thought necessary.

A recent publication by Dr. George Hayward, entitled "Some Account of the First Use of Sulphuric Ether by Inhalation in Surgical Practice," gives a clear and simple history of this discovery, and of all its attending circumstances, *as connected with the Hospital*. It is interesting to trace the earlier successive steps by which the grand result was at last obtained. These are, to a considerable extent, recapitulated in the *British and Foreign Review* of April last. It is there stated, that, as early as 1779, "we find many experiments on men and animals on the inspiration of different kinds of airs."—"Dr. Beddoes, in his work on *Factitious Airs*, published at Bristol in 1795-6," "gives several communications from Dr. Pearson on the inhalation of ether," also "a letter from one of Dr. Thornton's patients, in which the patient himself gives an account of the inhalation of ether, by Dr. Thornton's advice, and its effects in a case of pectoral catarrh. He says, 'It gave almost immediate relief both to the oppression and pain in the chest,' On a second trial, he says he inhaled two tea-spoonfuls of

ether, which, he adds, 'gave immediate relief as before, *and I very soon after fell asleep*, and had a good night's rest.' — "Another curious case is given by Dr. Thornton, in which inhalation was prescribed for the relief of a very *painful inflammatory affection of the mamma*, and with very beneficial effect." The Reviewer says, "At this time and subsequently, Dr. Thornton was in the common habit of administering the vapor of ether to his patients." — "In all these trials, no one had distinctly in view the removal or abolition of pain, though this was attained, indirectly, in Dr. Thornton's case. But Sir Humphrey Davy, who it is well known first began his chemical career by assisting Dr. Beddoes," "seems not only to have contemplated such a result by means of medicamentous inhalation, but to have actually put it to the test of experiment on himself. The medium of his experiment, however, was not ether, but the nitrous oxide. Sir Humphrey tells us, that on two occasions the inhalation of the nitrous oxide removed headache. He also tried its effect *in removing intense physical pain*, while he was cutting a wisdom-tooth." — "He says: '*As nitrous oxide, in its extensive operation, appears capable of destroying physical pain, it may probably be used with advantage during surgical operations in which no great effusion of blood takes place.*'" — "In the article 'Ether,' in the Dict. des Sc. Med., vol. xiii., published in 1815, we find the author, Nysten, speaking of the inhalation of *ether* as familiarly known, and as employed for the relief of some pulmonary diseases, and also for *mitigating the pain of colic*." To an eminent medical friend the Committee are indebted for the fact, that in Pereira's *Materia Medica*, published in London in 1839, it is expressly stated that "*the vapor of ether is inhaled* in spasmodic asthma, chronic catarrh, and dyspnœa, whooping-cough, and *to relieve the effects caused by the accidental inhalation of chlorine gas*." Dr. Charles T. Jackson,

of this city (as we learn from a pamphlet published in 1847, under his own sanction and authority, entitled, "Discovery by Charles T. Jackson, M.D., of the Applicability of Sulphuric Ether in Surgical Operations; by Martin Gay, M.D."), has distinctly admitted that he "was early impressed with the remarks of Davy * concerning the remedial agency of gaseous matters." † As a learned chemist, he was also doubtless familiar with the publication last referred to. Accordingly, two or three years after its appearance, or in the winter of 1841-2, "he inhaled sulphuric ether, to obtain relief from the very unpleasant sensations caused by an accidental inhalation of chlorine gas." In other words, having accidentally inhaled chlorine gas, he resorted to the prescribed remedy. "He at first breathed the ether without producing unconsciousness, but derived from it some relief. Afterwards, still suffering from the chlorine, he continued the experiment to such an extent as to produce complete general insensibility." Subsequently, under precisely the same circumstances, he also prescribed it to one of his students. He had, as he states, on one previous occasion, also about A.D. 1841, inhaled it with safety to the extent of producing "a peculiar sleep or unconsciousness." — "*Before his observations, a state of complete insensibility from this cause was considered by the best authorities as one of greater or less danger; and it had been known to produce fatal results. Young persons had breathed this vapor to the extent of producing unconsciousness, and in some cases without injury.*"

Dr. Jackson, then, had not discovered any new power or

* Dr. Jackson, in a letter published with Dr. Gay's pamphlet, says: "My interest in the respiration of gasses was first excited by Sir H. Davy's experiments; and, since I became acquainted with them, the subject has always seemed to me to deserve further investigation."

† Daily Advertiser of March 1, 1847.

property of ether. *It was known that it could produce insensibility*; and that *that insensibility*, though sometimes fatal, *was sometimes unattended with injury*. It was also known as a specific against the noxious effects of chlorine gas. He had merely tested these known propositions, and found them true in his own person. By so doing, he had formed, as he states, a strong opinion, that pure, rectified, sulphuric ether could be inhaled with safety. But its efficacy for the prevention of pain he had, thus far, only verified by actual experiment in the case specified in the text-books, viz. *where chlorine gas had been previously inhaled*. This experiment is stated in Dr. Gay's pamphlet with great particularity, *as if it had been one before unknown*. The motives which led to it, and the philosophical inferences deduced by Dr. Jackson, are set forth with much minuteness. It seems, indeed, to be relied on as the very foundation of Dr. Jackson's claim, as the discoverer of the safety and efficacy of sulphuric ether. *It still obviously remained to be proved*, that it could be safely and effectually inhaled for the prevention of pain under other circumstances.* To establish this point, Dr. Jackson never attempted an experiment on man or animal. It is true that "he communicated to several persons (and, among others, to Mr. Bemis, an eminent dentist, in 1842) his observations and conclusions respecting the prevention of pain in surgical operations;" and, in February, 1846, he informed a student in his laboratory (Mr. Joseph Peabody), who wished to have two teeth extracted, "that insensibility would be produced by the inhalation of sulphuric ether-vapor. He advised him to breathe it, and to submit to the operation while in the sleep induced thereby." But what effect did his advice have on Mr. Peabody? "He

* Dr. Gay says himself, "It still remained to be ascertained whether this unconsciousness was so perfect, that, during its continuance, no pain would be produced by wounding instruments." — Pamphlet, p. 10.

at last gave up the experiment, because his father, a scientific man, feared irritation of the lungs might ensue, — *because the best authorities on the subject were arrayed against the opinion of Dr. Jackson*, — and because he was unwilling to incur any risk for so slight an operation.” And such was really the general state of public opinion among men of science down to that time.* *The discovery was yet to be made by one who was willing to try the experiment, notwithstanding the best authorities on the subject were against it.*

Further, it does not appear, that, from 1841–2 to 1846, Dr. Jackson suggested its use, except for the slighter and instantaneous operations of the dentist. Familiar, as he confesses himself to have been, with the views of Sir H. Davy, who had so long before suggested the use of the nitrous oxide in operations attended *with little effusion of blood*, it was very natural that Dr. Jackson’s thoughts should have been exclusively turned to the use of sulphuric ether in the class of minor operations which had been thus specified by so distinguished a philosopher. It would seem, indeed, clear that he had not the remotest conception of its universal applicability and importance. Such, indeed, is the only satisfactory explanation of the fact, that, during an interval of nearly five years, he never once tested his discovery, or caused it to be tested, by a single experiment. Upon this point, indeed, the advocate of Dr. Jackson says: “It was more than a quarter of a century after Jenner first heard the milkmaid express her belief in the protective influence of cow-pox, that he vaccinated his first patient;” but, he adds, “*during which period he was much engaged in the investigation of the subject.*” But ether seems to have received only a casual and incidental attention from Dr.

* See Mr. Metcalf’s letter to the Committee, p. 225.

Jackson. To make the cases at all parallel, it must be shown, that Jenner, after vaccinating his first patient, waited five years before vaccinating another, *with a like apparent unconsciousness of the importance of his discovery*. Indeed, these two discoveries are of so totally opposite a character, that they suggest a striking contrast, instead of a parallel. In the one case, the truth could be ascertained only by repeated experiments and patient investigation. It had to fight its way against the inveterate prejudices of the world. In the other case, it is fully and for ever demonstrated by the first successful capital operation; and it is at once hailed, as it were, with delight by all mankind.

Within this period, Dr. Horace Wells, of Hartford, used the nitrous oxide while engaged in extracting teeth. His claim, *as a discoverer* in this matter, must yield entirely to that of Sir H. Davy, who, after actual experiments, had, as it were, distinctly suggested the use of this very agent for this object so many years before. There are, doubtless, reasons founded in the nature of this agent, which have prevented these suggestions of Davy, in regard to it, from having been long since realized. And, whatever may have been the result of Dr. Wells's experiments elsewhere, it is certain that his public performance of them in Boston in 1844 was an entire failure. It is also stated by Dr. Wells, that, as early as November, 1844, "a surgical operation was performed at Dr. Marcy's office under the influence of *sulphuric ether*;" and he adds, "The doctor then advised me by all means to continue the use of the nitrous oxide." And it seems that the result of this one experiment was such, that, pursuant to this advice, he abandoned the idea of the further use of ether. His claim, therefore, to the discovery in question appears in this view also to be equally unfounded. We cannot but believe, that it has been without due consideration that his claim has received the

official sanction of his native State of Connecticut. Indeed, a published letter from Dr. Wells to Dr. Morton seems necessarily to exclude the idea, that he himself claimed to have made any such prior discovery.* All must, however, accord to him the honor of having been an earnest and persevering seeker after truth in this very path of inquiry; and his labors and experiments may, we think, fairly be considered as having had some indirect influence, though not themselves attended with direct success.

Dr. William T. G. Morton, of this city, must now be mentioned. He had been a student of Dr. Jackson's, and formerly a partner of Dr. Wells. He, therefore, occasionally availed himself of the advice of the former; and he was aware of, and (upon the public occasion in Boston before referred to) had taken part in, the experiments of the latter in the use of nitrous oxide. It does not appear that Dr. Wells had ever mentioned in Boston his one experiment with sulphuric ether. There is evidence, entirely satisfactory, that Dr. Morton's attention had been for some time engaged upon the subject; that he had purchased and experimented upon sulphuric ether; that, as early as July, 1846, a highly intelligent chemist of this city had a conversation with him upon its medicinal qualities;† and that, at this

* The letter referred to is as follows:—

“Hartford, Conn., Oct. 20, 1846.

“Dr. Morton. — Dear Sir, Your letter, dated yesterday, is just received; and I hasten to answer it, for fear you will adopt a method in disposing of your rights which will defeat your object. Before you make any arrangements whatever, I wish to see you. I think I will be in Boston the first of next week, probably Monday night. *If the operation of administering the gas is not attended with too much trouble, and will produce the effect you state, it will undoubtedly be a fortune to you, provided it is rightly managed.*

“Yours in haste,

H. WELLS.”

† Mr. Theodore Metcalf, in a note to Dr. Morton, dated Dec. 20, 1847, says: “I can only state that I remember to have met you at Mr. Burnett's store early in the summer of 1846, and to have had a conversation with you in regard to the medicinal qualities of *sulphuric ether*, a quantity of

very time, he made an arrangement in business, the express object of which was to relieve himself from the immediate duties of his profession, in order to devote himself to some-

which you were then purchasing. I cannot, as you desire, give the precise date, but know it to have been previous to July 6, as I left Boston on that day for a tour, from which I have but a few weeks returned." Mr. Metcalf also, subsequently, sent the following letter, before referred to in p. 222:—

"Boston, Jan. 26, 1848.

"Sir, — In answer to your inquiry respecting the nature of my interview with Mr. Morton, I can only add to my note of Dec. 20, that the conversation was commenced by some inquiry on his part, concerning the nature and effects of sulphuric ether, a vial of which he then held in his hand.

"In answer to his several questions, I gave him such information as he could have obtained from any intelligent apothecary at that time, and also related to him some personal experience as to its use as a substitute for the nitrous oxide; adding the then generally received opinion, that its excessive inhalation would produce dangerous, if not fatal consequences. Some reference was made—but whether by Mr. Morton or myself, I cannot remember—to the unsuccessful experiments of his former partner, Mr. Wells, with the nitrous oxide. It was one of those casual conversations which quickly pass from the mind; and it was for the first time recalled to my memory, upon seeing, months after, in a French journal, an account of the anæsthetic effects of ether, the discovery of which was ascribed by the writer to a Boston dentist.

"I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"N. I. Bowditch, Esq."

"THEODORE METCALF.

Mr. Metcalf is the well-known predecessor of Mr. Burnett, and, as an apothecary, has long possessed, in the highest degree, the confidence and respect of the medical profession; and there is no one in the community whose personal character would give higher authority to any statement of facts distinctly and positively made. *It is therefore certain, that Dr. Morton, months before his interview with Dr. Jackson, purchased sulphuric ether at the very shop where Dr. Jackson at last advised him to buy some more (pure and rectified), with which the successful experiment was made. And it may be remarked, that the details of the conversation, given by Mr. Metcalf, seem conclusively to show with what intent Dr. Morton was then making his purchase.*

The Committee may claim the entire credit of obtaining this most important testimony. Mr. Metcalf, having been absent in Europe, had never been applied to by Dr. Morton, who called upon him only at the express suggestion of the Committee. Besides its direct bearing in the case, it confirms the statement of Dr. Hayden, who had previously testified to the purchase of a small quantity of sulphuric ether at Mr. Burnett's; and not only so, but it seems to prove that Dr. Hayden could not have any

thing which would make an entire revolution in dentistry. But we do not think it at all material to go into the minute details of this evidence. Skilful in his particular department, he makes no pretensions to general science. Seeking for this discovery, — acquainted with this very agent, — he calls upon Dr. Jackson; wishing, without betraying his own motives and objects, to obtain all the information which Dr. Jackson's extensive researches and experience might enable him to furnish. Dr. Jackson, at this interview, voluntarily gives him the strongest assurances of the expediency and safety of using pure rectified sulphuric ether; informs him where he can get some of a good quality;* and advises him, as he had more than once advised others, to

motive for misrepresenting the contents of the demijohn, since the point at issue was Dr. Morton's *entire ignorance* of sulphuric ether, not his *greater or less knowledge* of that agent. Dr. Gay, from the omission in the published affidavits of Dr. Morton to state the kind of ether used in his experiments, infers his total ignorance of *sulphuric ether*, down to Sept. 30, 1846. Indeed, Dr. Jackson stated to one of the Committee, that, when Dr. Morton had his interview with him on Sept. 30, 1846, he (Dr. Morton) had never seen sulphuric ether — did not even know it by sight — was wholly ignorant about its nature and qualities — and got from him, for the first time, the idea of using it. To the suggestion that this ignorance was feigned, he replied that he knew it to be real; and remarked, "The Committee may consider it as a *certain fact* in the case. It can be proved beyond all reasonable doubt whatever." The Committee, being aware of Mr. Metcalf's statement, suggested that an unimpeachable witness had stated, that, three months before that interview, Dr. Morton had bought sulphuric ether, and conversed with him respecting its medicinal qualities. Dr. Jackson replied that it could not be, — that it must be an entire mistake, &c. The Committee learned, two days afterwards, from Mr. Metcalf, that he had himself previously informed Dr. Jackson of the fact, that, *before he went to Europe*, he had seen Dr. Morton buying sulphuric ether, and conversed with him about its qualities. He had not, indeed, stated to Dr. Jackson the precise time when this interview took place; but the Committee think that this circumstance affords evidence that Dr. Jackson's conclusions in this case have been formed without a careful and deliberate consideration of the facts, even *when brought directly within his notice*.

* Viz. at Mr. Burnett's shop, where Dr. Morton had himself purchased sulphuric ether three months before.

try the experiment.* Unlike others, Dr. Morton determines to do so. He does not yield to any doubt, from the opposite array of authorities. He is willing to take the risk. Accordingly, on Sept. 30, 1846, — after having, as he states,

* In a memorial dated July 31, 1847, transmitted by Dr. Morton to the French Academy, and, as he informs the Committee, subsequently presented by Arago to that body, we find, accordingly, the following paragraph: "I am ready to acknowledge my indebtedness to men and to books for all my information upon this subject. I have got here a little, and there a little. I learned from Dr. Jackson, in 1844, the effect of ether directly applied to a sensitive tooth, and proved by experiment that it would gradually render the nerve insensible. I learned from Dr. Jackson, also in 1844, the effect of ether when inhaled by students at college, which was corroborated by Spear's account, and by what I read. I knew of Dr. Wells's attempt to apply nitrous oxide gas for destroying pain under surgical operations. I had great motive to destroy or alleviate pain under my operations, and endeavored to produce such a result by means of inhaling ether; inferring that, if it would render a nerve insensible when directly applied, it might, when inhaled, destroy or greatly alleviate sensibility to pain generally. Had the ether that I tried on the 5th August* been pure, I should have made the demonstration then. I further acknowledge, that I was subsequently indebted to Dr. Jackson for valuable information as to the kinds and preparations of ether, and for the recommendation of the highly rectified, from Burnett's, as the most safe and efficient. But my obligation to him hath this extent, no further."

In this memorial, we find also the following paragraph: "I went to Dr. Jackson, therefore, to procure a gas bag, also with the intention of ascertaining something more accurately as to the different preparations of ether, if I should find I could do so without setting him upon the same track of experiment with myself. I am aware, that by this admission I may show myself not to have been possessed by the most disinterested spirit of philosophic enthusiasm, clear of all regard for personal rights or benefits; but it is enough for me to say, that I felt I had made sacrifices and run risks for this object; that I believed myself to be close upon it, yet where another, with better opportunities for experimenting, availing himself of my hints and labors, might take the prize from my grasp."

The Committee deem it a very important consideration, in respect to this interview, that the information in question was elicited by the visit of Dr. Morton to Dr. Jackson for a specific purpose, viz. to obtain the means of persuading a patient to submit to an operation, under the idea that it would be unattended with pain; and that it was not disclosed in an interview sought by Dr. Jackson to make trial of it for *his* satisfaction, or to accomplish *his* purposes.

first inhaled it himself,—he finds a patient who consents to permit him to use it, and *extracts a tooth without pain*. It was, of course, at first still uncertain whether the insensibility so satisfactorily obtained during this brief operation would continue through a more prolonged one. Dr. Morton, on the next day, calls on Dr. Jackson, and informs him of his success; and the latter states that he advised Dr. Morton to get the surgeons of the Hospital to permit its use.* He does not himself, however, see any of these officers. He is not himself present at any of the early operations.† He fears that Dr. Morton may recklessly do some great mischief. He refuses to give him a written certificate of the safety of the application of ether. He openly and strongly expresses his regret, that he had ever communicated to Dr. Morton any information upon the subject.‡ Certainly, then, with respect to all these subsequent experiments, Dr. Jackson is free from the least responsibility; and this alike, whether he doubted the safety of the application of ether, or only, as it would seem, the competency of Dr.

* Dr. G. G. Hayden, however, in his affidavit, states that, “on the evening of the 30th of September, after the first experiment had been made with success, Dr. Morton spoke about going to the Hospital, and using the ether there, and thus bringing out the new discovery;” while a witness of Dr. Jackson’s testifies, that “Dr. Morton strongly objected at first to going to the Hospital.” He certainly showed no such reluctance *at last*.

† Dr. Jackson was absent from the city when the third operation was performed at the Hospital, and remained absent twelve days; but, besides this expected absence, he had assigned another reason for declining to assist at that operation.

‡ More than one witness distinctly remembers, that the expression, “I don’t care what he does with it, if he does not drag my name in with it,” and others of similar import, were used by Dr. Jackson in relation to Dr. Morton’s early experiments in confirmation and establishment of this discovery. And one of Dr. Jackson’s own witnesses, George O. Barnes, in an affidavit published in Dr. Gay’s pamphlet, says expressly: “In fact, he (Dr. Jackson) was sorry that he had communicated his discovery to Morton, and that he had employed him to make those early experiments with the ether. He spoke strongly upon those points.”

Morton to administer it safely. In either case, the risk was wholly confined to Dr. Morton, and the surgeons of this Hospital.* Dr. Morton thus follows up his first success; and the great truth is at last made manifest, for which so many a prayer had been breathed in vain ever since man had lived and suffered. *It is demonstrated that ether may be applied with safety, so as to produce insensibility during all surgical operations.*

Upon the whole, then, it seems clear that to Dr. Morton the world is indebted for this discovery; and that, but for Dr. Jackson's scientific knowledge and sound advice, Dr. Morton would not have made it at that precise time, and might have failed to do so at any time. The one, having a strong conviction of the safety of the agent, has the credit of giving the best possible advice: the other, by nature determined and fearless, makes the first actual application. Between the discoverer and his adviser, there will henceforth ever be an indissoluble, however reluctant, copartnership. In accordance with these general views are the published statements of two of our own officers. One of them, Dr. Hayward, says: "It is understood, that Dr. C. T. Jackson, well known by his great attainments in geology and chemistry, first suggested the use of ether; but to Dr. Morton, I think, must be awarded the credit of being the first who demonstrated, by actual experiment on the human subject, the existence of this wonderful property." The other, Dr. Jacob Bigelow, President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, in an article published in the Medical and Surgical Journal of July 7, 1847, says: "In the

* These were then, as now, Drs. John C. Warren, George Hayward, Solomon D. Townsend, Henry J. Bigelow, Samuel Parkman, and J. Mason Warren. Dr. Gay argues that Dr. Morton *did* not, and from his ignorance *could* not, run any risk in following the directions originally given by Dr. Jackson. That argument is certainly inapplicable to these subsequent experiments.

case of Dr. Jackson, if he did make the discovery in 1842, as asserted, or even later, he stands accountable for the mass of human misery which he has permitted his fellow-creatures to undergo, from the time when he made his discovery to the time when Dr. Morton made his. In charity, we prefer to believe, that, up to the latter period, he had no definite notion of the real power of ether in surgery, having seen no case of its application in that science. The first made partial experiments, and recommended, but did not make, decisive ones. The last took the risk and labor necessary to demonstrate or disprove its efficacy, and, above all, the safety of the process, which, until his time, had been believed to be dangerous to life, on various good authorities, from Dr. Christison to Mr. Peabody."

In view alike of the simplicity of the agent employed, the magnitude of the results attained, and the near approaches so repeatedly made to this discovery, how applicable are the lines of Milton, to which a friend has called the attention of the Committee!

"The invention all admired, and each how he
To be the inventor missed, so easy it seemed
Once found, which yet unfound most would have thought
Impossible."

It is matter of regret that a noble discovery in science should have been attended with discussions and controversy, involving much bitterness, and, as it seems to us, disingenuousness. Dr. Morton distinctly admits, that his original application to Dr. Jackson was made with a studied concealment of his true object, and an assumed ignorance of the whole subject (as it would seem, even to the extent of asking if ether were a gas). The motive of this concealment is explained to have been a fear lest he should otherwise lose the honor of any eventual discovery which he might make. The consequences to Dr. Morton have

been, however, that many, relying on the unimpeachable testimony of those present at that interview, have been induced to withhold from him all credit whatever, except that of "a nurse who administers a new and bold prescription of a physician,"* and to regard him, throughout this discovery, in the false light of a mere agent of Dr. Jackson. This culpable step has seemed to increase the merit of Dr. Jackson's advice, by rendering it unsolicited information, instead of a mere answer to a direct inquiry. It has itself furnished the only colorable ground for depriving Dr. Morton of the honor of the discovery. Thus fitly has the majesty of truth vindicated itself! On the other hand, . . . in a communication in the Boston Daily Advertiser of March 1st, Dr. Jackson says he "*was desirous of testing it (the ether) in a capital operation, and that Dr. J. C. Warren politely consented to have the trial made; and its results proved entirely satisfactory, an amputation having been performed under the influence of ethereal vapor, without giving any pain to the patient.*" Whereas we have two distinct published statements of Dr. Warren, one in reply to a letter of Nov. 30, 1846, in which occurs the following sentence: "Two or three days after these occurrences (*i.e. the first two operations at the Hospital*), on meeting with Dr. Charles T. Jackson, distinguished for his philosophical spirit of inquiry, as well as for his geological and chemical science, this gentleman informed me that he first suggested to Dr. Morton the inspiration of ether, as a means of preventing the pain of operations on the teeth.

* This illustration, used by Dr. Gay, seems to the Committee entirely inapplicable. A nurse who refuses to administer even a new and bold prescription may be justly denounced by the attending physician; whereas Dr. Morton was not a student under Dr. Jackson's orders, and obliged to administer his remedies to one of *his* (Dr. Jackson's) patients. He was a free agent, who, after receiving the prescription, voluntarily went and sought out a patient who was willing to submit to it.

He did not claim the invention of the apparatus, or its practical application. For these we are indebted to Dr. Morton." The other statement is as follows: "Boston, Jan. 6, 1847. I hereby declare and certify, to the best of my knowledge and recollection, that I never heard of the use of sulphuric ether by inhalation, as a means of preventing the pains of surgical operations, until it was suggested by *Dr. W. T. G. Morton*, in the latter part of October, 1846." If it be said that neither of the first two operations was a capital one, we have the authority of Dr. Hayward, who performed the second operation,* for saying that it was the removal of a very large tumor from the arm,—that it occupied seven minutes,—that, as it involved the painful process of cutting through the skin to a great extent, it was as entirely satisfactory as an amputation would have been,—the patient being free from all sense of pain. One present at the operation exhibited to the Committee a sketch of the arm and the tumor upon it, taken at the time, which clearly showed how formidable an operation it must have been, though not perhaps what would be professionally called a *severe* one. Dr. Warren says expressly in his yet unpublished work, "The patient exhibited no sign of physical or intellectual suffering." *And yet it was not until after this operation, that Dr. Warren or Dr. Hayward had received an intimation, that Dr. Jackson had any thing to do with the discovery, either from himself or any one else.* The third operation was a capital one, and it was entirely successful. Alice Mohan, a young woman of twenty years of age (who had long been a patient in our institution, and who is doubtless well remembered by all this Board, to

* The first operation, the removal of a tumor from the neck, was performed by Dr. Warren, who says that it was a case of imperfect etherization. It was performed Oct. 16, 1846. The second operation took place Oct. 17, and the third on Nov. 6.

whose kind consideration her character and conduct, no less than her misfortunes, so well entitled her), was to submit to amputation above the knee. But if Dr. Jackson's statement is to be understood as applying only to this case, we still find that every part of the statement is entirely irreconcilable with the facts. This operation was performed, not by Dr. Warren, but by Dr. Hayward. And not only was Dr. Hayward still entirely ignorant of Dr. Jackson's participation in this discovery; but the dialogue which actually had taken place between Dr. Warren and Dr. Jackson, in relation to it, was to this effect. Dr. Warren, on being informed by Dr. Jackson that he first suggested to Dr. Morton the use of sulphuric ether, *requested Dr. Jackson to come to the Hospital, and administer it* during this operation, which was to take place the next Saturday. *Dr. Jackson declined doing so*, for two reasons: one, that he was going out of town; the other, that he could not do so consistently with his arrangements with Dr. Morton. Dr. Warren has not given to the Committee any information respecting this conversation; but that such was the substance of the dialogue is capable of judicial proof from other evidence which has been laid before the Committee. So that, if Dr. Jackson at any time requested of Dr. Warren to have the ether administered during a capital operation at the Hospital, it must have been after this conversation, in which he declined to administer it, and after it had been successfully applied by another without his assistance.

This withholding of all credit from Dr. Morton has but caused Dr. Jackson's own claims to be the more strictly scrutinized. Had he been willing to admit that the discovery was a joint one, the world would probably have allowed to him, as a truly scientific man, the largest share of the honors resulting from it. The exclusive claims of Dr. Jackson seem to rest wholly upon the hypothesis, that

Dr. Morton was, from first to last, his mere agent;—an idea evidently repudiated by Dr. Morton, when he first went to Dr. Warren, *without even naming Dr. Jackson*; and most openly and unequivocally disavowed by Dr. Jackson himself, during the whole series of Dr. Morton's experiments. The Committee think that Dr. Jackson's own early acts have, indeed, for ever rendered inadmissible these exclusive claims. He at first agreed to receive from Dr. Morton the sum of five hundred dollars, as a compensation for his services. Is it, for one moment, conceivable that the true discoverer would have thus bartered away his birthright for a mess of pottage? And when subsequently, at the suggestion of the Solicitor of Patents, a personal intimate friend of Dr. Jackson, Dr. Morton consented to permit Dr. Jackson's name to be associated with his own in the patent,—he having agreed, instead of the five hundred dollars, to receive one tenth part only of the profits,—we ask again, Is it conceivable that the sole discoverer would have thus associated another with himself, taking even an oath that they were joint discoverers, and, at the same time, have consented to receive only a pittance of what was wholly his own? No! We consider that Dr. Jackson is estopped for ever from such a claim, and that not upon technical grounds, but by the whole equity of the case. We will not, however, further pursue this ungracious part of our subject.

It is further matter of regret, that a patent should have been taken out for such a discovery. As well might Dr. Franklin have claimed one for the exclusive use of the electric fluid. A patent in this case, indeed, would seem to be a peculiarly odious monopoly,—a speculation based upon human suffering,—like an exclusive right to sell breadstuffs to a famishing community. It is due, however, to Dr. Morton to state that he tendered the free use of the discovery to this institution, and requested from Dr. John

C. Warren a list of all similar institutions in the country, that he might extend its benefits to them.* He, in like manner, tendered the free use of it to the army and navy of the United States. His design was, as he alleges, to charge to practitioners a moderate annual sum, which, he thought, would be paid cheerfully, and without inconvenience, by their respective patients.† Dr. Jackson's name would not have been associated in the patent, but at the instigation of R. H. Eddy, Esq. the solicitor, who has publicly avowed that he acted under a mistaken apprehension of facts, and who now awards to Dr. Morton the sole honor of the discovery, which at the time he supposed might fairly be regarded as a joint one. Mr. Eddy's intelligence and truthfulness, and his sincere friendship for Dr. Jackson, are well known in this community. But we must state our conviction, that it was a sad mistake to have resorted to any exclusive legal right in the present instance. This has become the deliberate opinion of the profession and of the public. One of the patentees, Dr. Jackson, after applying to be admitted to a larger share of the profits, ultimately renounced all claims to any benefit from this source; and the patent has also become unavailable to Dr. Morton.‡

* He certainly made the offer, without any previous request from this Board; though a witness of Dr. Jackson's states that it was made at his suggestion, and with a reluctant acquiescence on the part of Dr. Morton.

† In his licenses was inserted a clause, that such payments were to cease, if the United States, or the State where the practitioner lived, should purchase the right to use the discovery.

‡ The two gentlemen who acted as legal advisers of Dr. Jackson addressed a letter to Messrs. R. H. Eddy and W. T. G. Morton, dated Boston, January 28, 1847, containing the two following sentences: "Under the present circumstances of the case, we think the least that, in justice to yourselves and Dr. Jackson, you can offer is 25 per cent of the profits arising from the invention, both at home and abroad, in settlement of his claim upon you."

"It is our wish to settle the matter amicably, if possible. We hope you

We cannot, however, but wish that it had been originally taken out rather from the hope of securing to themselves the honor than the profits of the discovery. And yet a national benefit of such magnitude is well entitled to a national reward. It may be true that Dr. Jackson does not need or now wish such reward; but it is a mortifying fact, that Dr. Morton's pecuniary affairs have become embarrassed, in consequence of the interruption of his regular business, resulting from his efforts and experiments in establishing this great truth, and that his health has also seriously suffered from the same cause, so that he can devote only a small part of each day to his professional labors. He has become poor in a cause which has made the world his debtor. The Committee are, in this connection, authorized to state, that a memorial was prepared by the physicians and surgeons of this institution, to be forwarded to Congress at its present session, and had been already signed by eleven of them (all except Dr. J. B. S. Jackson), when further proceedings were stopped by a remonstrance from Dr. C. T. Jackson. This memorial, as embodying the views of these officers, is placed at the disposal of your Committee; and we cannot better close this discussion

will see, by our suggestions, that we wish only to have a fair distribution of the profits of a discovery made among those who cannot, if they disagree, effectually sustain the patent; and which, if sustained, *promises to give to all parties large sums of money for their united co-operation.*" Dr. Gay, however, says that Dr. Jackson "deemed it a sort of impropriety to procure letters patent for the practical application of scientific discoveries. He himself never would have procured one merely for his own pecuniary benefit, in a case so important to the interests of humanity."

In the memorial before referred to, as presented by Dr. Morton to the French Academy, the closing sentence is as follows: "But, as the use has become general and almost necessary, I have long since abandoned the sale of rights (under the patent), and the public use the ether freely; and, I believe, I am the only person in the world to whom this discovery has so far been a pecuniary loss."

than by subjoining the following copy of the document referred to :—

“ To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled.

“ The undersigned, Physicians and Surgeons of the Massachusetts General Hospital, beg leave to represent, —

“ That, in the year 1846, a discovery was made in the city of Boston, by which the human body is rendered insensible to pain, during surgical operations, and during other serious and violent affections, by means of the vapor of ether inhaled into the lungs.

“ That a patent for this discovery was taken out by two citizens of Boston, by whom the first satisfactory experiments on the prevention of pain by this means had been made ; and the first capital operations, conducted under the influence of this agent, were performed in the Massachusetts General Hospital by the surgeons of that institution.

“ That the success of this method of preventing pain has been abundantly and completely established by a hundred and fifteen operations performed in said Hospital during the last year, and by a still greater number out of it in the city of Boston.

“ And, in all cases within the knowledge of the undersigned, it has greatly mitigated, or wholly prevented, the pain, when skilfully administered, and in no case has any fatal or disastrous consequence followed its use, within their observation ; and although inconveniences and temporary disturbances of the nervous system have sometimes followed its application, yet these are exceptions to a general rule, and are not more common than those which result from the employment of other powerful medicinal agents, and are incomparably less distressing than the evils they are employed to obviate.

“ The undersigned have reason to believe, that, since the introduction of this process, some thousands of persons have inhaled ether, in Boston and its vicinity, with impunity and benefit ; that its value is already recognized, and its employment introduced into most parts of Europe ; that the use of the process ought to be, and by judicious arrangements probably will be, extended into all parts of the United States ; and that no discovery in medical science, during the present century, has relieved as much suffering, and conferred so great a benefit on humanity, as the discovery of the power and application of ether.

“ The undersigned are aware, that the power of ether to produce insensibility, and even death when improperly used, was known in Europe many

years ago. They are also aware, that other aeriform bodies have been experimented on, and the vapor of ether itself unsuccessfully tried, by other individuals, in surgical operations; but they are satisfied, that the safety of the process, and the effectual mode of applying it, were first made known in Boston in 1846.

“Understanding that the use of this important discovery is now restricted by letters patent granted from the office of the Secretary of State, and believing that it is the policy of wise governments to diffuse among their constituents the blessings of such discoveries as tend to alleviate human suffering, and, at the same time, to reward those who have conferred such benefits upon the world,—the undersigned respectfully pray, that such sums as shall be thought adequate may be paid by the Government of the United States to those persons who shall be found, on investigation, to merit compensation for the benefit conferred on the public by this discovery, and on condition of the relinquishment by them of any patent right they may hold restricting its use.

(Signed)	“ JOHN C. WARREN.	H. I. BOWDITCH.
	JACOB BIGELOW.	O. W. HOLMES.
	GEO. HAYWARD.	J. MASON WARREN.
	ENOCH HALE.	SAMUEL PARKMAN.
	S. D. TOWNSEND.	HENRY J. BIGELOW.
	JOHN D. FISHER.	

“ *Boston, Nov. 20, 1847.*”

As a general summary of facts and views, the Committee report, that in their judgment the following propositions are satisfactorily established:—

Down to Sept. 30, 1846, Dr. Jackson had discovered nothing that had not been known and in print in London for some years. It was known, that ether would produce insensibility; that such insensibility, though sometimes fatal, was sometimes safe; and that one of the properties of ether was its power to obviate the ill effects of an inhalation of chlorine gas. The discovery of the safety and efficacy of the inhalation of ether in surgical operations had not yet been made; the only experiments which Dr. Jackson had tried, or caused to be tried, being those already prescribed by the text-books. Dr. Jackson had for some

time entertained a strong impression that it could be used with safety and effect during the operations of the dentist,—a conjecture which a hundred other persons may have made without discovering the fact; and incidentally, on more than one occasion, he had advised its use for that class of operations, but had been unable to persuade any one to use it, not even persons of science and intelligence, who were most familiar with all that Dr. Jackson knew or thought upon this subject.

Prior to this time, Dr. Wells had used the nitrous oxide for this object, as recommended many years before by Sir H. Davy. His experiments performed in Boston were, however, unsuccessful. He also claims to have performed one experiment with sulphuric ether, which, from the circumstances, must also necessarily be inferred to have been unsuccessful. And there is positive evidence that the most eminent physicians of Boston never heard of the latter experiment till after Dr. Morton's discovery.

Dr. Morton had for some time been engaged in searching for a safe agent for promoting insensibility during dental operations. He knew of, and had upon one occasion taken part in, the nitrous-oxide experiments of Dr. Wells.

As early as July, 1846, he purchased sulphuric ether, and proceeded to experiment upon it. On September 30, 1846, he has an interview with Dr. Jackson, and receives his decided advice to use pure rectified sulphuric ether during a dental operation, accompanied with the strongest assurances of its safety, and with the information where it could be obtained. Dr. Morton, unlike others who had received this advice, and notwithstanding he knew the prevailing belief of the dangerous and sometimes fatal character of this agent,* forthwith acted upon it. That he proceeded to

* See Mr. Metcalf's letter, p. 224.

inhale it himself, rests, indeed, on his own assertion. The Committee have no doubt of its truth. He certainly administered it to a patient. *By so doing, he made this discovery.** On learning this result, Dr. Jackson very naturally

* Indeed, it seems to be distinctly admitted by the advocate of Dr. Jackson, that *he* had made no discovery in this case prior to Sept. 30, 1846. Dr. Gay says expressly, in commenting upon Dr. Wells's claims: "Although so much time (two and a half years) has elapsed since Mr. Wells's experiments, he presents no evidence of its adoption into general surgical practice, even in that flourishing city. *It required little more than the same number of months to diffuse the knowledge and application of Dr. Jackson's discovery throughout the civilized world.*"

In fact, the specification accompanying the patent, and signed both by Dr. Jackson and Dr. Morton, and bearing date Oct. 27, 1846, is most distinct in the same admission. We subjoin the following extracts, in proof of this position, and also of the fact that Dr. Jackson did not regard *sulphuric ether* as the *sole* agent which might be used to produce insensibility to pain:—

"It is well known to chemists, that, when alcohol is submitted to distillation with certain acids, peculiar compounds, termed *ethers*, are formed; each of which is usually distinguished by the name of the acid employed in its preparation. It has also been known, that the *vapors of some, if not all*, of these chemical distillations, *particularly those of sulphuric ether*, when breathed or introduced into the lungs of an animal, have produced a peculiar effect on its nervous system, one which has been supposed to be analogous to what is usually termed intoxication."

"It has never (to our knowledge) been known, *until our discovery*, that the inhalation of such vapors, *particularly those of sulphuric ether*, would produce insensibility to pain, or such a state of quiet nervous action as to render a person or animal incapable, to a great extent, if not entirely, of experiencing pain while under the action of the knife, or other instrument of operation of a surgeon, calculated to produce pain."

"*This is our discovery,*" &c.

"From the experiments we have made, *we are led to prefer the vapors of sulphuric ether to those of muriatic or other kinds of ether*; but any such may be employed *which will properly produce the state of insensibility, without any injurious consequences to the patient.*"

The testimony of Dr. Keep and of Mr. Barnes, as to Dr. Morton's not being aware of the importance of the admission of atmospheric air, having been commented upon by the Committee, it is proper here to add the fact, that in this very specification occurs the following sentence in the description of the apparatus to be employed: "*Let there be a hole made through the side of the vessel for the admission of atmospheric air,*" &c. And the original apparatus first used at the Hospital by Dr. Morton is, as the Committee are

suggested to Dr. Morton that he had better get the ether tried by the surgeons of the Hospital, which a witness of Dr. Morton's, however, alleges that he had previously determined to do. But all the subsequent steps were taken by Dr. Morton himself, without the slightest sympathy or co-operation on the part of Dr. Jackson, who, from alleged fear of his recklessness, withheld from him all countenance and encouragement. In view of these facts, the Committee are of opinion, that the *exclusive* claims advanced by Dr. Jackson,* though now very extensively recognized in foreign countries, are unfounded, being unwarranted alike by his acts and by his omissions; and that they involve great injustice towards Dr. Morton; — that their names will be for ever jointly, though not equally, associated in this discovery; Dr. Jackson being entitled to the credit of having rendered readily available the existing knowledge upon the subject of ether, which Dr. Morton was really, though not avowedly, seeking to obtain; and Dr. Morton having first demonstrated its safety and efficacy in the prevention of pain during surgical operations; — and that Dr. Morton, by consenting to permit Dr. Jackson's name to be united with his in the patent, with

informed, expressly constructed so as to admit atmospheric air. Besides, had no atmospheric air been admitted, his patients would probably have been killed, discredit thrown upon the process, and the discovery perhaps postponed for ages.

It may also be remarked, that, in view of this disclaimer, by Dr. Jackson, of any discovery prior to Sept. 30, 1846, it seems difficult to explain an expression which is quoted by Mr. Warren, in his pamphlet, as extracted from Dr. Jackson's letter to M. Elie de Beaumont, originally published in "Galignani's Messenger," Jan. 25, 1847; namely: "I have *latterly* turned this discovery to use, by inducing a dentist of this city to administer the vapor of ether to persons whose teeth he was going to extract."

* That such claims are really advanced by Dr. Jackson is well known. He said indeed to one of the Committee, "I allow of no partnership in this matter. If your report takes from me such a proportion of the sole credit of this discovery *as amounts even to the paring of a finger-nail*, I shall entirely object to it."

the right to receive *one tenth* part of its profits, has shown himself disposed, fairly and honorably, to recognize the amount of his indebtedness to Dr. Jackson's advice.

The essential conclusions in the case may be thus concisely stated:—

1st, *Dr. Jackson does not appear at any time to have made any discovery, in regard to ether, which was not in print in Great Britain some years before.*

2d, *Dr. Morton, in 1846, discovered the facts before unknown, that ether would prevent the pain of surgical operations; and that it might be given in sufficient quantity to effect this purpose, without danger to life. He first established these facts by numerous operations on teeth, and afterwards induced the surgeons of the Hospital to demonstrate its general applicability and importance in capital operations.*

3d, *Dr. Jackson appears to have had the belief, that a power in ether to prevent pain in dental operations would be discovered. He advised various persons to attempt the discovery. But neither they nor he took any measures to that end; and the world remained in entire ignorance of both the power and safety of ether, until Dr. Morton made his experiments.*

4th, *The whole agency of Dr. Jackson in the matter appears to consist only in his having made certain suggestions, which led or aided Dr. Morton to make the discovery,—a discovery which had for some time been the object of his labors and researches.**

* The results otherwise arrived at by the Committee have received the highest confirmation from Professor Simpson, the discoverer of chloroform, who has transmitted to Dr. Morton a copy of his pamphlet, entitled, "Account of a New Anæsthetic Agent, as a Substitute for Sulphuric Ether in Surgery and Midwifery," with the following note written upon one of its blank pages:—

"My dear Sir, — I have much pleasure in offering, for your kind accept-

The Committee are well aware, that any investigation and opinion which shall have the sanction of this Board—emanating, as all must admit, from those who ought to know most of the circumstances of this discovery—will be entitled to great weight. That investigation has been conducted by the Committee under a solemn sense of responsibility to the public, to posterity, and to the cause of truth and justice. Personal feelings have been laid aside. When this inquiry was instituted, neither of the Committee had ever seen Dr. Morton; and both of them, on the other hand, were in friendly relations with Dr. Jackson. There had always existed between them and him feelings of mutual respect and regard. No friend of Dr. Jackson would willingly remove a merited laurel from the brows of one whose scientific attainments, upright intentions, and amiable character, all are happy to acknowledge. The Committee, indeed, believe that he is honestly self-deceived in this matter.

ance, the accompanying pamphlet. Since it was published, we have had various other operations performed here, equally successful. I have a note from Mr. Liston, telling me also of its perfect success in London. Its rapidity and depth are amazing.

"In the Monthly Journal of Medical Science for September, I have a long article on etherization, vindicating your claims over those of Jackson."

"Of course, the great thought is that of producing insensibility; and for that the world is, I think, indebted to you."

"I read a paper lately to our Society, showing that it was recommended by Pliny, &c. in old times.

"With very great esteem for you, allow me to subscribe myself,

"Yours very faithfully,

"J. Y. SIMPSON.

"Edinburgh, 19th November, 1847."

Accordingly, in a note published with the article referred to, is the following sentence: "Within the last few days, I have seen a pamphlet, dated Boston, May 30, 1847, in which it is stated, that, for three months previously, all apparatus had been laid aside, and the sponge alone used for etherization, by Dr. Morton, of that city,—the gentleman to whom, I believe, the profession and mankind are really and truly indebted for first reducing into practice the production of insensibility by ether-inhalation, with the object of annihilating pain in surgical operations."

We submit our Report upon this subject to the Board, in the assurance that it will receive their deliberate examination, and that its conclusions will be adopted, if at all, under a like solemn sense of responsibility.*

* A few remarks upon the manner in which this inquiry has been pursued, may not perhaps be inappropriate.

The Committee considered, that, as Dr. Morton alone assisted in the early experiments at the Hospital, they were not strictly called upon to mention Dr. Jackson; but, inasmuch as Dr. Gay's pamphlet had been for some time before the world, and also Mr. Warren's reply, it seemed that the whole subject had been submitted by the parties to the tribunal of the public, and that the public would reasonably expect from this institution such a narrative of the facts as might be prepared from these *and from other sources more especially within our reach*. Both these pamphlets were therefore very carefully examined and compared; twenty-two individuals, most conversant with the subject, consulted; and the report substantially prepared. The Committee then deemed it advisable to address a note to Dr. Jackson, informing him that Dr. Gay's pamphlet had been considered by them as containing a full statement of his claims; that if, however, he had any additional facts to communicate, the Committee would be happy to receive them. The result was two personal interviews, besides one of three hours' duration (by express appointment) with Dr. Gay in behalf of Dr. Jackson. Dr. Gay offered to prove certain facts, having no connection with or relation to this discovery, which the Committee declined hearing. He also said he had other evidence of a strictly confidential character, which was also declined. He then proceeded to comment upon the testimony contained in Mr. Warren's pamphlet. All his arguments and objections upon this point have been fairly stated by the Committee from memoranda taken at the time; and the deliberate views of the Committee, in relation to these objections, have been also stated. The Committee, at this interview, wished to know the worst that could be suggested as to the credibility of these witnesses. Few remarks were therefore made to Dr. Gay as to the sufficiency of his objections; but they were noted as subjects for future investigation. The Committee may have said, "Well, putting this deposition aside for this ground, what is your objection to the next deposition?" But it was, on the other hand, distinctly suggested to Dr. Gay, that two of these witnesses were very favorably spoken of, and that the testimony of Whitman, whose character even Dr. Gay admitted to have been above suspicion, was obviously confirmatory of matters stated by the two witnesses referred to; and that even Whitman's testimony alone was sufficient to prove that Dr. Morton was striving to realize the idea of this discovery, and was therefore irreconcilable with Dr. Jackson's *exclusive* claims.

The Committee mentioned to Dr. Jackson, that they had obtained some new testimony in favor of Dr. Morton (meaning the letters of Mr. Metcalf

[Appended to this Report was the following letter from Mr. Wightman:—]

“N. I. Bowditch, Esq.

“Boston, Feb. 10, 1848.

“Dear Sir,—In answer to your note of yesterday, desiring any information I might be able to communicate with regard to Dr. Morton’s application of ether, I am happy to render the following statement for the use of the Trustees of the Hospital, which, if it will aid their investigations, is entirely at their service.

“My acquaintance with Dr. Morton commenced in the summer of 1846, when he applied to me for some information upon increasing the security of artificial teeth by atmospheric pressure. A short time after-

and of Dr. Dana); but, believing that the testimony in these letters was of a nature not to be rebutted, the Committee did not feel called upon to state the fact that either of these two gentlemen had been consulted. The Committee felt themselves perfectly free, like every one else, to form and to express an opinion upon a matter of universal interest and importance, and which indeed seemed to fall naturally within their peculiar province, *even though they had not the previous permission of Dr. Jackson*. Their report had been unanimously accepted by the Trustees, and presented to and unanimously accepted by the Corporation. While it was in process of publication, a note was received from Dr. Gay, alleging that he supposed his objections to the testimony in Mr. Warren’s pamphlet were recognized by the Committee as well founded, and protesting against the course pursued by the Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital in giving “any countenance to the attempt of Mr. Morton to rob Dr. Jackson of his sacred right to his own discovery.” Dr. Gay, in his note, significantly adds, that “Dr. Jackson has always, excepting in one unguarded moment, declined submitting his claims to any tribunal, either to be agreed upon by the parties, *or self-constituted and forced upon him*.” He alleges that Dr. Jackson has much new evidence, that the investigation of the Committee must necessarily have been partial, &c. This note of Dr. Gay was laid before the Trustees, at a meeting held Feb. 6; but they deemed no action necessary thereupon. The Committee claim no judicial powers or functions. Dr. Jackson is perfectly free to continue in his present determination of never submitting his exclusive claims to any human tribunal, or he may hereafter submit them to one which he shall regard as more competent or impartial. If, by any new evidence, he can establish these claims, he is still at liberty so to do. The Committee can only state, that they have endeavored to prosecute their inquiries in a fair, cautious, and thorough manner, and that they feel the utmost confidence in the soundness of the conclusions at which they have arrived; and, conscious that no proceeding or neglect on their part has justified the remarks of Dr. Gay, they here take leave of this subject *for ever*.

wards (I think within a few weeks), he called again, and, in reply to me, stated that he had abandoned his views on atmospheric pressure, which he found were erroneous, *and was then engaged upon something of much greater importance in his profession.* He then wished me to show him some bags of India rubber cloth, made for retaining gas, and inquired whether it would do to put sulphuric ether into them. My answer was, that ether was used to soften rubber, and might dissolve it so as to make the bag leak. He then asked me if an oiled silk bag would retain it. I told him that the silk was covered with a preparation of linseed oil, which I had no doubt would be acted upon by the ether; but, as I could give him no *certain* information respecting the effect, *I advised him to call upon Dr. Charles T. Jackson*, who was well versed in these matters, and could give him the necessary information. He then observed that Dr. Jackson was a friend of his; that he had boarded in his family; had been a student with him; and that he did not think of it before, but would call upon him.

“A few days after this interview, Dr. Morton came to me for some chemical glasses, and appeared inclined to keep from me the purpose for which he wished them; but, in the course of the conversation, I had no question in my mind but they were for experiments with ether. The article he then took not answering his purpose, he visited my rooms a number of times during the week; and, after trying various articles, he informed me that what he wished to have was something which would allow ether to be inhaled from it, to produce insensibility to pain in his dental operations. I inquired of him whether this would not injure the lungs. He replied that he had tried it himself, and administered it without experiencing any ill effects, and that Dr. Jackson said that it was not injurious.

“After suggesting various forms for an inhaler, we decided upon a tubulated globe-receiver, into which he proposed to put a piece of sponge, to be kept saturated with ether, and have the opening through which the retort usually enters placed over the mouth, and the air admitted through the *tubulure*, or hole for the stopper. I advised him to try this, and, if it answered the purpose, to have an appropriate vessel made. He then left me, and I did not see him again, until one afternoon he called upon me in great haste, and begged me to assist him to prepare an apparatus with which he could administer the ether to a patient at the Hospital the next day, as Dr. Warren had consented to use it in an operation. He appeared much excited; and although, from a pressure of other engagements, it was very inconvenient for me, yet I consented to arrange a temporary apparatus under these circumstances. This apparatus was composed of a

quart tubulated globe-receiver, having a cork fitted into it instead of a glass stopper, through which cork a pipette or dropping tube was inserted to supply the ether as it was evaporated. *I then cut several large grooves around the cork to admit the air freely into the globe to mix with the vapor,* and delivered it to Dr. Morton.

“From this time I have had but one interview with Dr. Morton, and I regret that I am unable to furnish specific dates for these transactions; but, from the variety of articles tried and returned by Dr. Morton, and the trifling value of those taken by him at different times, I made no charges to him in my books. I am therefore indebted to other circumstances for the date of these occurrences, one of which is that I returned to Boston from the country with my family on the 28th Sept. 1846; a fact which appears from an actual entry in my books. In the cars I met Dr. Morton; and, from my recollection of the circumstances at that time, I am satisfied that the conversation about the effect of sulphuric ether upon the gas bags was previous to that time. My attention was called to the date and circumstances of this interview in the winter of 1846-7, and I then satisfied myself upon the matter.

“On the appearance of the article signed ‘E. W.’ in the Daily Advertiser of March 5, 1847, in which some allusion was made to me, Dr. Jackson and Mr. Peabody called upon me in reference to my knowledge of the dates of Dr. Morton’s interviews with me. I explained the matter to them at that time; and although we differed in opinion as to the date of Dr. Morton’s *first* application to me, yet I am happy to state that Dr. Jackson has since admitted to me, that my view of the dates of the transactions was substantially correct, adding that he could substantiate his discovery as far back as 1842. — Yours respectfully,

“JOSEPH M. WIGHTMAN.”

The Committee make the following remarks on this letter:—The date of Mr. Wightman’s coming to Boston is fixed beyond all doubt. The circumstances connected with this occasion have been verbally stated to the Committee, and are of a nature, rendering, in their judgment, a mistake impossible. This letter, then, proves that, prior to Sept. 28, 1846, *or more than two days before his interview with Dr. Jackson, Dr. Morton called on Mr. Wightman, alluded to some intended discovery of great importance, and*

inquired about bags, suitable for holding sulphuric ether. And it would seem probable, that it was owing only to a casual suggestion then made, that Dr. Jackson, rather than some other learned chemist, was subsequently consulted by Dr. Morton.

The letter also proves, that Dr. Jackson had heard from Mr. Wightman (as well as from Mr. Metcalf, see p. 224) facts which it seems difficult to reconcile with his (Dr. Jackson's) conviction, expressed so strongly to the Committee, *that Dr. Morton was wholly ignorant of sulphuric ether*, down to the interview with him. Dr. Jackson, and his friend Mr. Peabody, seem, indeed, to have been aware of the important bearing of Mr. Wightman's testimony on this point. Therefore in March, 1847, they endeavored strenuously, but in vain, to satisfy him that he was mistaken as to the date of his first interview with Dr. Morton, about the gas bags. *It would seem that Dr. Jackson had not yet resorted to the hypothesis, that he had made his discovery in 1842; since that, of course, rendered all these transactions with Dr. Morton of no consequence.* Accordingly, in his later interview with Mr. Wightman, Dr. Jackson said, in effect, "You may be about right in your dates; *but it is immaterial to me*, as I can substantiate my discovery as far back as 1842." *Unfortunately, Dr. Jackson, in the specification accompanying the patent, had, under oath, disavowed any discovery prior to that which he made jointly with Dr. Morton; and the Committee have proved, that what Dr. Jackson knew about ether in 1842 had been published by Pereira in 1839.*

II. VINDICATION OF THE HOSPITAL REPORT.

BY N. I. BOWDITCH.

In the month of April last, a card of Dr. Charles T. Jackson appeared in various newspapers of the city of Boston, cautioning "the friends of science and humanity" against a combination of interested persons, and proposing to expose the falsehoods in the Report of the Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, presented to the Corporation, January 26, 1848. "A Defence of Dr. Jackson's Claims to the Discovery of Etherization," by his attorneys the Messrs. Lord, was published a few weeks afterwards. Prepared with this deliberation, and heralded with this solemnity, it doubtless presents all the important points upon which Dr. Jackson relies. The notice which the writers take of me is somewhat personal. The other Trustees of the Hospital are declared not to be "held responsible for the truth of my statements, the legitimacy of my inferences, or the justness of my conclusions." Without recognizing any such exclusive responsibility, I am perfectly ready to meet its consequences. Having engaged in this investigation only from the wish that truth and justice might prevail, I am induced by the same motive to ask the attention of the public to a brief vindication of the Hospital Report. I feel it unnecessary, before this community, to defend either my motives or my conduct from the charges made or insinuated by the Messrs. Lord.

It will be remembered, that the Hospital Report alleges that Dr. Morton, previous to his interview with Dr. Jackson (Sept. 30, 1846), had bought sulphuric ether, and conversed about its qualities, especially its effects when inhaled, as a substitute for nitrous oxide, for the prevention of pain in dental operations, &c.: in other words, that Dr. Morton was

seeking for *this* discovery by means of *this* agent, and did *not* get the first idea of using it from Dr. Jackson. These positions are, it is believed, fully established by the statements of Mr. Metcalf and Mr. Wightman. The Messrs. Lord are obviously aware, that it is absolutely necessary for them to do away with those statements. This they attempt, in the case of Mr. Metcalf, by declaring that they *understand* that he (Mr. Metcalf) will not be willing to swear that it was *sulphuric* ether which he saw Dr. Morton buying, — that he merely thinks the vial was so labelled, — that he probably would not swear that Dr. Morton did really purchase said vial of ether, &c. Now, will it be believed, that the Messrs. Lord have never asked a question of Mr. Metcalf upon the subject; and that, on the contrary, Dr. Jackson himself knew from Mr. Metcalf's own lips, that he was entirely certain it was sulphuric ether? What is this, on the part either of Dr. Jackson or his attorneys, but an absolute perversion of truth? I subjoin a note of Mr. Metcalf upon this subject:—

“Boston, June 4, 1848.

“Dear Sir,—The writers of the reply to the Report of the Trustees of Massachusetts Hospital have never been informed by me, that I was not ready to swear that the vial in Mr. Morton's possession, early in the summer of 1846, contained *sulphuric* ether. Neither can I believe, that they have been so informed by Dr. Jackson; for, *on the evening of the day after the date of my letter to you*, I called at Dr. Jackson's office, and informed him of its purport. He expressed surprise that I was able to fix a purchase of sulphuric ether by Mr. Morton of so early a date, and asked if I was sure that it was *sulphuric*, and not *chloric*, ether in the vial. *I told him that I knew it to be sulphuric ether*, because, while conversing with Mr. Morton, I had uncorked the vial, and smelt it.*

* Besides the interview here described, Mr. Metcalf previously spoke to Dr. Jackson of the fact, that, *before he went to Europe*, he had seen Dr. Morton buying sulphuric ether, &c. — a fact commented upon in the Hospital Report.

“That the vial contained *sulphuric* ether,—that I made the above statement to Dr. Jackson,—and that Mr. Morton purchased the ether, as I have stated in my note published in the Hospital Report, *I am ready to swear.*”

“Yours respectfully,
“N. I. Bowditch, Esq.”

“THEODORE METCALF.

Now as to Mr. Wightman's letter. The “Defence” speaks of its vagueness and uncertainty, and suggests many ingenious and elaborate theories to prove that Dr. Morton's interview with Mr. Wightman was *after*, not *before*, his interview with Dr. Jackson. Whatever uncertainty, however, there may be as to the exact time when Mr. Wightman first became acquainted with Dr. Morton, the date of the particular interview with him, which is important in this case, is fixed so securely that it is hardly possible for any thing to be more definitely established by human testimony. Mr. Wightman came to Boston with his family, Sept. 28, 1846, or *two* days before the interview between Dr. Jackson and Dr. Morton. This date is fixed by an actual entry in his books, and subsequent entries of articles sold Sept. 29, &c. When coming to Boston in the cars, he met Dr. Morton. I have obtained from Mr. Wightman a supplementary note, stating the circumstances which then occurred. These are of such a nature as to make it impossible for him to be mistaken in the fact that it was before this time Dr. Morton had consulted him about bags of India-rubber cloth for holding sulphuric ether, and on which previous occasion he had advised Dr. Morton to call on Dr. Charles T. Jackson, for the purpose of obtaining more definite and certain information as to sulphuric ether than he himself could give him. The following is Mr. Wightman's note:—

“N. I. Bowditch, Esq.

“Boston, June 15, 1848.

“Dear Sir,—In reply to your note asking for a written account of the circumstances which I mentioned to you verbally, as alluded to in my letter of Feb. 10, I would state as follows:—

“It appears by my books of account and entries of cash made on those days, that, on Aug. 1, 1846, I went to Dover with my family, and that on Sept. 28, 1846, I returned with my family to Boston; there being also in my account-books, for the month of September, separate subsequent entries under dates of Sept. 29 and 30. I distinctly recollect, that, on several different occasions within that period, I met and conversed with Dr. Morton in the cars; and these must have been separated by intervals of at least one week, as I only went to Dover on Saturdays, returning on Monday mornings. We went up together in the five-o’clock trains, and I always returned in the first train; and it was only by reason of my taking a later train, when I brought my family back to Boston, that I met Dr. Morton. On this occasion, Sept. 28, 1846, he had a bouquet in his hand. I was sitting by his side. He asked me if the lady near me was Mrs. Wightman: I replied, ‘Yes.’ He said, ‘Will she accept these flowers?’ I assented, and thereupon introduced him to my wife. She asked me in a low voice who Dr. Morton was. I told her he was a dentist, who was making experiments about extracting teeth without pain. Mrs. Wightman recollects distinctly, that in conversation I observed to her, ‘Dr. Morton thinks that I do not know what he means to use for this purpose; but I do.’ From all the circumstances in the case, I have not the least doubt in my mind that the agent he intended to use for that purpose was *sulphuric ether*. This I infer from his inquiries as to the effect of sulphuric ether in dissolving India-rubber bags, &c. as alluded to in my former letter. From that time I have never met Dr. Morton in the cars.

“There is one other circumstance, affording internal evidence, that makes me entirely certain that Dr. Morton really called upon Dr. Jackson pursuant to my suggestion. It is this: Dr. Morton and I had talked of mesmerism, and he asked me if I believed in it. I told him no; that much of its effects was probably nervous, and much the result of imagination. I then proceeded to relate to him *myself* the very anecdote which it is proved, both by Barnes and M’Intyre, that he (Morton) related to Dr. Jackson, viz. that of a criminal upon whom certain French surgeons tried the experiment of merely pricking his arm while he was blindfolded, and letting warm water trickle down from his arm into a bowl; the result being, as I informed Dr. Morton, that his pulse became more and more feeble; and when the surgeons thought that the experiment had been carried as far as was safe, the bandage was removed, when, to their great surprise and alarm, they found that they could not revive him, and he actually died from the effect of imagination.

“Yours respectfully,

“JOSEPH M. WIGHTMAN.”

Further, the "Defence" admits, that Mr. Wightman and Dr. Morton had an interview, and *within a very few days*, either *before* or *after* the interview with Jackson. Now, throwing out of the case all circumstances by which Mr. Wightman is enabled to fix the date to be *before* the interview with Jackson, what is the other evidence in the case? On the one supposition, all is very natural. Dr. Morton calls on Mr. Wightman, and asks about India-rubber bags for holding sulphuric ether. *He tells him to call on Dr. Jackson* for more definite information. Dr. Morton calls accordingly. At this interview we find him "having in his hand an *India-rubber bag* belonging to Dr. Jackson;" and a conversation commences. *The subject of nitrous oxide is introduced.* At a former interview with Mr. Metcalf, this same subject had led to a conversation about using sulphuric ether for inhalation, instead of nitrous oxide; and the same result follows on this occasion.

On the hypothesis that the interview with Mr. Wightman was after that with Jackson, two obvious questions arise. If Dr. Morton had already received such definite and particular instructions from Dr. Jackson as to the use of ether, and how to apply it, and had actually performed his first experiments, why should he call on Mr. Wightman at all, and ask about India-rubber bags, and whether ether would dissolve them? Why not take Dr. Jackson's opinion on this point; and, when Mr. Wightman tells him to go to Dr. Jackson for definite information, what possible motive could he have had for not replying, "I have been to see him a very few days ago, and he has told me all about sulphuric ether"? No, this internal evidence, of itself, would be enough to settle the question of priority as to these interviews.

It is, then, a fact for ever established, that Dr. Morton's conversations with Mr. Metcalf and Mr. Wightman were

before his visit to Dr. Jackson. Of course it follows, that when, at this interview, he asked if ether were a gas, and said, "What queer-smelling stuff!"* he was designedly concealing what he knew. And what motive could he have had for such concealment, except that subsequently assigned by himself, viz. that he was seeking for this discovery, and was fearful that, if he made any direct inquiries of him, Dr. Jackson would claim it as his own?*

Now, suppose that all four of Dr. Morton's witnesses, Spear, Leavitt, Hayden, and Whitman, are perjured; that no demijohn of ether was purchased; that no experiments were tried from the contents of such demijohn; still these two statements of Mr. Metcalf and Mr. Wightman prove, as I conceive, beyond a possibility of doubt, that Dr. Morton was seeking for this discovery before Sept. 30, 1846; and that he was *not* indebted to Dr. Jackson for the first idea of using sulphuric ether, as claimed by Dr. Jackson and his friends. Mr. Wightman, indeed, as he expressly states, feels certain that it was only in consequence of his casual suggestion that Dr. Jackson was consulted at all in the case. The facts proved by these two statements utterly overthrow Dr. Jackson's exclusive pretensions.† The concurrent testimony of the other four witnesses is merely cumulative. It may be wholly rejected, without affecting one of the conclusions arrived at in the Hospital Report. Three of these witnesses are living, and can take such steps as they consider necessary for the vindication of their characters; but the late Francis Whitman, one of these witnesses, is spoken of by many who knew him well, in high

* It has been stated in the Hospital Report, that the facts proved by Mr. Metcalf make it certain that the degree of ignorance expressed by Dr. Morton, in his interview with Dr. Jackson, was assumed. Yet the "Defence" says upon this point, "We have to depend on Mr. Morton's word alone."

† Indeed, Mr. Metcalf's letter alone is of itself sufficient to do so.

terms, as a man of truth and honor. Even Dr. Gay, then not pretending to doubt the existence of the demijohn, said to me that Whitman was *too honest* to allow that it contained sulphuric ether, and therefore in his deposition states it contained chloric ether. That such a man would lend himself to this base conspiracy to injure Dr. Jackson, I, for one, entirely disbelieve; and yet, if his testimony is to be credited, it establishes a secret purchase of some sort of ether. The "Defence" itself introduces no evidence to impeach this witness, except the allegation, that all the witnesses, after giving their depositions, began to talk of matters respecting which they had been before silent. I designedly abstain from any comments upon the testimony by which Dr. Jackson endeavors to impeach the credibility of these four witnesses, as I think the whole matter comparatively irrelevant and unimportant. I will, however, make one or two suggestions. Mr. Brewer's affidavit is merely that his firm sold ether of a certain quality, and never such as that in the demijohn. Now, such is the volatile nature of ether, that, if the vial containing it be left open or insecurely closed, its whole spirit will evaporate. A physician of high scientific attainments, and a member of the Academy, informs me that, last year, he ordered a vial of ether at an apothecary's, and, on opening it, perceived that it had no smell of ether, and, calling the apothecary's attention to its worthless character, asked an explanation. The reply was, "I don't understand this. *It was some of Stevens and Brewer's best.*" It was probably at first a good article; and, like it, the contents of the demijohn had deteriorated, from the same or some other cause. This explanation disposes of that one of Dr. Morton's alleged "lies" which is founded on this affidavit. Indeed, some half-dozen of these "lies" relate to this demijohn and its contents.

Some most puerile remarks are made upon the discre-

pancies in the testimony. Thus Leavitt says, that he was sent to Dr. Gay, but could not find his residence; while another witness swears that Leavitt came back and said Dr. Gay was not in. Do not the Messrs. Lord, as "counsellors-at-law," know that these slight discrepancies are really satisfactory as proving a want of concert among the witnesses? Similar discrepancies are actually adduced by commentators as evidence of the genuineness even of the Gospels.

Again, there has always been a system of concealment and secrecy on the part of Dr. Morton, manifest throughout all the testimony, and expressly recognized in the Report. This very ether is sworn to have been bought in the name of a fictitious purchaser, as if to be sent into the country. Whitman's testimony also seems to imply, that this system extended to the demijohn and its contents. Thus he says, "I told Dr. Morton I knew what it was that William had bought, and said it was chloric of ether." This system of concealment explains the fact, that many of those employed in Dr. Morton's office may never have happened to see the demijohn. But one credible witness, who swears positively to its existence, is to be believed, though twenty others equally credible swear that they never saw it. Further, this system of concealment may explain the silence of the four witnesses, prior to the giving of their depositions; since, of course, all injunctions of secrecy would then be removed. It is obvious, that a controversy may be carried on interminably by *ex-parte* affidavits made without any cross-examinations; each set of witnesses impeaching the characters of those on the opposite side, and the public having no means of judging of the degree of credit to be given to either. It may be remarked, that Dr. Morton has always been willing to leave the question to reference, when perjury on either side would be sifted by the cross-

examination of intelligent referees. But I repeat, that the vindication of the Hospital Report requires no such prolonged discussions. No one impugns the integrity or doubts the intelligence of Mr. Metcalf or Mr. Wightman. Both are free from the slightest bias or interest; and their statements form the all-sufficient basis upon which rest these positions of the Hospital Report.

The "Defence" contains a mass of testimony to the effect that Dr. Morton habitually admitted that it was Dr. Jackson's discovery, and not his. But it is expressly stated in the "Defence," that Dr. Morton sought to obtain a patent without Dr. Jackson's previous knowledge or permission; thus publicly claiming before all the world, that, in performing the first experiment, he had acted for himself, not as the agent of Dr. Jackson. So, likewise, printed circulars were published in the newspapers, and distributed as handbills, in which Dr. Morton most positively and emphatically claimed this discovery as his own. These are still extant. One of them has been submitted to me. Dr. Morton, of course, always admitted his obligations to Dr. Jackson. I have no doubt, that he did most fully and openly declare, on many occasions, the truth,—namely, that Dr. Jackson told him to try this new agent, and pronounced it to be safe,—that it was by his express advice and sanction that he performed his first experiment of pulling out a tooth. But, whatever may have been his language on these occasions, it cannot alter the facts proved by Mr. Metcalf and Mr. Wightman, namely, that, before he saw Dr. Jackson, he was himself seeking to learn the properties of this agent, for the purpose of realizing this discovery. Dr. Morton had an obvious and very powerful pecuniary motive for thus uniformly declaring and setting forth Dr. Jackson's claims as the discoverer, viz. that of getting the discovery more generally introduced than it could be otherwise. Indeed it

is stated expressly in Mr. Eddy's testimony, that he advised Dr. Morton to admit Dr. Jackson as a joint patentee, because he thought "that his association with Dr. Morton would give immediate character to the discovery." After the joint patent was taken out, and when no dispute could therefore be anticipated, and Dr. Morton's object was merely to sell his rights as extensively as possible, he did doubtless put Dr. Jackson prominently forward, and award to him in the fullest terms the credit of having made the immediate scientific suggestion which led him to try the first experiment. It is somewhat amusing to find Dr. Jackson insisting that these verbal declarations of Dr. Morton shall debar him from proving the previous steps which he had taken towards this discovery, and for ever oblige him to admit as true, what certainly is not true, that he got the idea of using sulphuric ether for this purpose, for the first time, from Dr. Jackson; while, on the other hand, the statements of Dr. Jackson, actually written, signed, and *sworn to* (in the specification accompanying the patent), to the effect that the discovery was a joint one,—that no human being ever discovered this power of ether before this joint discovery, &c.—are quietly set aside by him as the mere formal "wording of an official paper."

If the claim to this scientific discovery is to be decided by the application of the technical doctrines of estoppel, those rules certainly ought in fairness to be applied to both parties.

The "Defence" next insists upon Dr. Jackson's having been induced to become a party to the patent "for the single purpose of securing the *credit* of the discovery." This uniform disinterestedness is again alleged. The "Defence" says, "That he did not wish to make any thing out of the public is sufficiently proved by," &c. The reader, however, will remember, that the letter of Dr. Jackson's legal

advisers, published in the Hospital Report, demanding an increased share of the profits, speaks of the patent as one "*which, if sustained, promises to give to all parties large sums of money for their united co-operation.*"

Again, it is most positively stated in the "Defence," that there is no pretence that Dr. Morton ever made a gratuitous offer of any sort to the army and navy of the United States, as declared in the Report; he having really only offered to *sell* his discovery to the Government. But, in fact, subsequently to the offer to sell to Congress, letters *were* addressed by his agent to those two departments, offering its use forthwith, on account of the existing war with Mexico.

The "Defence" claims for Dr. Jackson the honor of introducing this discovery into the Hospital. It is abundantly proved by the Report, that the first capital operation, and two others preceding it of a less serious character, were performed by surgeons who knew only Dr. Morton; Dr. Jackson's name not having been mentioned to them at all. Dr. Jackson, however, attempts to connect himself with these first operations by evidence that he told Dr. Morton to call on Dr. Warren. The idea of generalizing and extending the discovery was, of course, perfectly obvious; and (even if we disbelieve the testimony of Dr. Hayden, that Dr. Morton had already decided to go to the Hospital) Dr. Jackson can hardly claim much merely from such a suggestion. The reluctance testified to, as manifested by Dr. Morton to Dr. Jackson with regard to going to the Hospital, I suppose indeed to have been part of his system of concealment. It was a reluctance to go there *as the agent of another*. He was unwilling probably to accede to this suggestion, lest he should be deprived by Dr. Jackson of all credit which might result from taking this step. But what is Dr. Jackson's actual relation to the Hospital in this

matter? He sends to the surgeons of this institution an agent whom he avowedly regards as ignorant and reckless. He does not trouble himself to call personally upon any one of these surgeons to give them a word of caution or advice, though all six of them live within five minutes' walk of his house.* For many successive weeks, he does not go once to the Hospital to see these operations, though absent from the city only during a brief period as stated in the Report. And, when at last he concludes to do so, Mr. Burnett sees him at his office, and is informed by him that he is going to take a bag of oxygen to the Hospital, as he thinks Morton will probably kill somebody yet with the ether, before he has done. All this, surely, is a singular mode of manifesting his interest in, and promoting the success of, these Hospital operations. During the same period, Dr. Morton is not the reluctant agent of another. He acts for himself. While, on the one hand, it would be difficult to exaggerate the degree of indifference shown by Dr. Jackson during the whole series of these early experiments, it would, on the other, be equally difficult to do more than justice to the earnest and indefatigable efforts of Dr. Morton. One of the surgeons of the Hospital says that he absolutely haunted them.

Dr. Jackson, upon this state of facts, and in compliance with alleged applications from numerous quarters, concludes to give to the world a true narrative of this great discovery, and of the circumstances attending its introduction. This he does in the form of a paper addressed to the American Academy, and published in the Boston Daily Advertiser, March 1, 1847. He there thinks it best to suppress all mention even of Dr. Morton's name in connection with the Hospital. He deliberately claims all himself. "I was desirous of testing it (the ether) in a capital operation," &c.

* A casual interview with Dr. Warren, *after* the two first operations, forms no exception to the truth of this remark.

“Dr. Warren *politely consented* to have the trial made.” But mark the result. At the meeting of the Academy on the very next day, Dr. Jackson learns from Dr. Hayward that *he* performed the first capital operation at the Hospital. Dr. Jackson forthwith alters his text, so as to make *Dr. Hayward* “politely consent” to perform that very operation. In other words, Dr. Jackson, by his own showing, did not know till March 2, 1847, who it was that had politely consented, at his desire, to do this important act four months before. Dr. Hayward states, that, when he performed this operation, he had not the slightest suspicion that Dr. Jackson had any thing to do with this discovery. Nor, as it appears, had Dr. Jackson the slightest suspicion that Dr. Hayward had any thing to do with performing the operation. In alleging any polite consent of Dr. Hayward, under these circumstances, Dr. Jackson certainly drew largely on his imagination.

After all, then, Dr. Jackson cannot, it would seem, complain of Dr. Morton’s conduct in this instance. If Dr. Morton suppressed Dr. Jackson’s name, when, pursuant to his advice, he asked Dr. Warren to perform these operations, Dr. Jackson in return suppressed his in his true and perfect history of their performance. The one, it may be, wrongfully appropriated a suggestion; the other, in return, appropriates its verification.

The fundamental proposition of the Hospital Report is, that “Dr. Jackson does not appear at any time to have made any discovery, in regard to ether, which was not in print in Great Britain some years before.” Does the “Defence” adduce any additional evidence on this point? The only new testimony is that of Mr. Blake, who relates a conversation, in the spring of 1842, on the subject of nitrous oxide and sulphuric ether, when Dr. Jackson said, “Are you aware that, when inhaled, it (sulphuric ether) produces

complete insensibility?" or words to that effect. Is it gravely pretended, that this question implies any extraordinary knowledge of this agent on the part of Dr. Jackson? Why, twenty-five years before, we find in a London publication ("Journal of Science and Arts," 1818) an article upon the effect produced by the inhalation of the vapor of sulphuric ether; where it is expressly stated, that its effects resemble very much those of nitrous oxide. The best apparatus or mode of inhaling it is exactly described, and the necessity of an admixture of atmospheric air, &c. shown, as in Dr. Jackson's final advice to Dr. Morton; and the result, in one case mentioned, is declared to have been the production of a lethargic state, which was regarded as highly dangerous.

Dr. Jackson and his friends (?) wish the world to believe, that, as early as 1842, he had arrived at the mature and well-considered conclusion, that pure rectified sulphuric ether could be inhaled with safety and effect for preventing pain in all surgical operations. The utmost of the evidence adduced by him to support this proposition is, that he once inhaled this ether to the extent of producing unconsciousness, *when he was not suffering any pain*; and once more to the like extent, when suffering from the effects of chlorine gas, for the relief of which it was the prescribed remedy in the text-books. Now, Davy had suggested that the nitrous oxide, by producing insensibility, might be used for the prevention of pain in surgical operations attended with little effusion of blood; and the writer in 1818 had ascertained, that sulphuric ether produced effects analogous to those of nitrous oxide. These suggestions and facts were before the world. Dr. Jackson, from his own limited experience in the two instances above stated, seems to have formed the opinion, that pure rectified sulphuric ether could be inhaled with safety, to the extent of producing insensi-

bility;—an opinion which he never could persuade any one else to entertain, who knew the opposite authorities on the subject. This opinion he apparently thought of little value. He, in casual conversations, incidentally suggested the use of sulphuric ether for the prevention of pain in dental operations. The only positive, explicit testimony, however, that he actually mentioned this very agent, even for this object, is a case where one of his students was desirous of being mesmerized, with a view to the extraction of two teeth without pain; whereupon Dr. Jackson suggested the use of sulphuric ether instead. There is not a tittle of evidence, that in any case, not even in this last, Dr. Jackson expressed the wish to have the experiment tried for his own satisfaction, or to verify his suggestion. And yet we find, from the “Defence” itself, that Dr. Jackson was all along conscious, that, until such actual experiment was performed, nothing could be published to the world *as a fact*. Knowing this to be so, he yet takes no voluntary, deliberate step whatever *to ascertain whether it be a fact or not*. He does not try, or cause to be tried, a single experiment on man or animal; nor does any one else to whom he makes a suggestion venture to do so; *because ether had been known to produce fatal effects*, and the decided weight of authority was against Dr. Jackson’s opinion of its safety.*

* A recent *jeu-d’esprit*, in the ether controversy, describes the case of a man, who, being told by another that there was honey in the hollow of a tree, subsequently *verified* this suggestion, thus made the discovery himself, and secured the honey. It would have spoiled the joke to have added, that the informant had repeatedly told others of the same honey, all of whom feared that there was a deadly snake concealed in the hollow, and therefore did not like to put their hands into it. This was, indeed, the “generally received opinion” of the whole neighborhood. Truly, under such circumstances, the verifier of the suggestion deserved the honey. And it will be in vain for the informant to cry out, “I saw it first: I won’t leave it to anybody to decide which of us shall have it. I have, indeed, sworn that it belongs to us jointly; but it really all belongs to me. You sha’n’t have a mouthful of it.”

At last comes Dr. Morton. The subject of inhalation to prevent pain had been long in his mind. He had been a partner of Dr. Wells, and knew of his nitrous-oxide experiments. These, having been attended with but partial and doubtful success, were abandoned by Dr. Wells. The object aimed at by them was of great importance to Dr. Morton in his profession. He buys sulphuric ether. Mr. Metcalf talks with him about its character and properties, about Dr. Wells's unsuccessful experiments with the nitrous oxide, and about the inhalation of ether as a substitute therefor; telling him "the generally received opinion, that its excessive inhalation would produce dangerous, if not fatal, consequences." Dr. Morton then calls on Mr. Wightman, asks for India-rubber bags made for retaining gas, and inquires "whether it would do to put sulphuric ether into them." Mr. Wightman refers him to Dr. Jackson for more certain and definite information on the subject than he can give.

To a mind thus prepared to receive it, the final impulse was now to be given. The same casual suggestion which he had before made to others, Dr. Jackson at last makes to Dr. Morton, — to one whom he had known for years, whose personal and scientific character he distrusted, and of whom he always spoke most disparagingly, — one to whom, after the very first successful experiments, he refused to give a written certificate of the safety of ether, on the grounds, as the "Defence" alleges, of a conviction of his ignorance, and an unwillingness to figure in his advertisements. This information, be it remembered (as stated in the Report), was elicited by Dr. Morton in an interview *sought by him* for an alleged specific purpose, viz. to obtain the means of persuading a patient to submit to an operation, under the idea *that it would be unattended with pain*. It was not disclosed in an interview sought by Dr. Jackson. Dr.

Morton was not asked to make trial of it for Dr. Jackson's satisfaction, or to accomplish his purposes.

Now, is not every act and every omission of Dr. Jackson, from first to last during these five years, utterly inconsistent with a conviction in his own mind that he had made this great discovery? Had his breast been warmed with the faintest consciousness of this great truth, could he have been thus totally and uniformly indifferent? And knowing, as he must have done, the importance of those experiments by which alone it could be verified "*as a fact*," would he at last have suggested their performance, and resigned their exclusive management and control, to one whom he deemed thus ignorant and reckless? Having such a glorious conception, would he thus voluntarily and knowingly have incurred such imminent risk of miscarriage? As well believe that Columbus would have suggested and relinquished to a common sailor the attempt to discover his new world?* Contrast for one moment his conduct during these five years with his proceedings afterwards. The discovery is no sooner promulgated, and its importance recognized, than his ardent, impulsive character, and his thirst for reputation and popular applause, at once display themselves. The discovery is his own — wholly — exclusively — no partnership in it with Dr. Morton. *He* is to have no participation in the credit which it brings — "not even to the extent of the paring of a finger-nail." Through private

* Dr. Jackson has compared himself, in this matter, to Columbus; and his friends have done so likewise in previous publications. I was not surprised, therefore, to find that the writers of the "Defence" recognize in Dr. Jackson, Columbus; and in Dr. Morton merely the sailor who first shouted "land" from the mast-head. I would suggest, as a truer estimate of their relative positions in regard to this discovery, that Dr. Morton was the energetic commander of a vessel, somewhat deficient, it may be, in nautical science; and Dr. Jackson, a skilful pilot, summoned when the voyage was just at its close, by whose aid the vessel was brought safely into port; where it would, in all probability, have arrived without that aid.

and through official channels, in conversation and by the press, Dr. Jackson communicates *his* discovery, and claims for himself the gratitude of mankind. With what face, however, can he now appeal either to the friends of science or of humanity, after the folly and the heartlessness involved in this five years' delay? What are *his* claims to gratitude who has proved himself so long utterly insensible to the dictates of nature and the sufferings of the world? In alleging that he made this discovery in 1842, Dr. Jackson seeks, as it seems to me, to vindicate his scientific claims at the expense alike of his character and his understanding; and this although his entire recent conduct demonstrates, that, if he had made this discovery in 1842, the whole world would have known it forthwith. But no! The supposition is too monstrous. The true explanation is contained in the Hospital Report. Dr. Jackson merely thought, that the insensibility produced by sulphuric ether might last while a tooth was extracted, — a conjecture of so little consequence, that he wholly neglected all attempts to verify it, and merely suggested it in a casual manner when his attention was accidentally called to the subject.

And now I have done with this controversy. Whatever be its issue, it will always be to me a source of satisfaction, that, placed in a situation which as I thought devolved upon me the duty of engaging in it, I have, according to my convictions and to my ability, candidly stated and earnestly enforced the claims of truth. I am no "heated advocate of Dr. Morton." I am not even his apologist. It was of him, of his want of frankness, and of the consequences which it had entailed upon him, that the Report says, "Thus fitly has the majesty of truth vindicated itself!" But, whatever may have been his deficiencies or his mistakes, I feel certain that to him the world owes this discovery. Should posterity ever erect a commemorative statue,

I believe that it will be inscribed with his name. He has, indeed, already received a slight "testimonial of the gratitude of his fellow-citizens," in a limited subscription, for the purpose of contributing "towards indemnifying him for his services and losses." On the other hand, I have always recognized the value of the suggestions made by Dr. Jackson. There is no evidence, that, until the interview with him, Dr. Morton had ever heard that sulphuric ether, *when pure and rectified*, could be inhaled to the extent of producing insensibility, with more safety than the common ether of the shops. For this opinion, strongly expressed, and the soundness of which was proved by Dr. Morton's subsequent experiments, he was, as I believe, indebted to Dr. Jackson. The Report accordingly speaks of this suggestion as one "which led or aided Dr. Morton to make this discovery," without which "Dr. Morton would not have made it at that precise time, and might have failed to do so at any time." But I regard the *exclusive* pretensions advanced by Dr. Jackson as the most preposterous that any man of science ever laid before an intelligent community; and such, I sincerely believe, will be the final judgment of mankind.

Testimonial to Dr. Morton, referred to above.

The following details may not be without interest in relation to the ether-controversy:—

LETTER TO DR. MORTON.

"Boston, May 12, 1848.

"Dear Sir,—At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, a few weeks since, it was informally suggested, that a limited subscription of one thousand dollars shall be raised for your benefit, in acknowledgment of your services in the late ether-discovery; no one to be asked to subscribe more than ten dollars. We consented to act as a Committee to receive and apply the proceeds of this subscrip-

tion. The proposed sum having been obtained, we have now the pleasure of transmitting it to you. We also enclose the subscription-book in a casket which accompanies this note. Among its signatures you will find the names of not a few of those most distinguished among us for worth and intelligence; and it may be remarked, that it is signed by every member of the Board of Trustees.

"You will, we are sure, highly value this *first* testimonial, slight as it is, of the gratitude of your fellow-citizens. That you may hereafter receive an adequate national reward is the sincere wish of your obedient servants,

"SAMUEL FROTHINGHAM.

"To Dr. William T. G. Morton.

"THOS. B. CURTIS.

DR. MORTON'S REPLY.

"Boston, May 15, 1848.

"Gentlemen,—I need hardly say, that your communication of the 12th inst., and the accompanying casket, subscription-book, and donation, have been received by me with gratification of no ordinary degree.

"Apart from the positive value of the gifts, the kind feeling which has led to this manifestation on the part of so many of the first citizens of Boston has affected me in a manner that I am not likely soon to forget. The circumstances in which I have been placed for some time past give them an additional value; and by my children the testimonial will be appreciated hardly less than by myself.

"In recognizing among the names those of each of the Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, I am bound to acknowledge this renewal of my indebtedness to that institution. It was the first to receive, verify, sustain, and promulgate the ether-discovery; and, from the earliest, I have received from its officers, surgeons, physicians, and trustees, nothing but constant courtesy, liberality, and kind consideration.

"Allow me to acknowledge your personal kindness in acting as a Committee for the purposes of subscription, and the tasteful manner in which you have given to it an enduring value and significance.

"You are pleased to speak of my services as deserving a national reward. I am glad to have your concurrence and sympathy in this opinion; and it is not unknown to you, that, if received, it would be to me, not only a reward, but an indemnification and relief.

"Respectfully, your obliged and obedient servant,

"WILLIAM T. G. MORTON.

"To Messrs. Samuel Frothingham and Thomas B. Curtis."

The box accompanying this note had upon it the following inscriptions:—In front, “Testimonial in honor of the Ether Discovery of Sept. 30, 1846.” And on the lid, “This box, containing one thousand dollars, is presented to William Thomas Green Morton by the members of the Board of Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and other citizens of Boston, May 8, 1848.”—Under which is a line extracted from the late Hospital Report, viz. “He has become poor in a cause which has made the world his debtor.”

The subscription-book has one hundred and fourteen signatures. It is headed as follows, viz. :—

“In view of the benefit received by the public from the late ether-discovery, and with the desire of aiding towards the remuneration of Dr. W. T. G. Morton, of this city, for his services and losses,—we, the subscribers, agree to pay the sum set against our respective names; the same to be applied by Samuel Frothingham and Thomas B. Curtis, Esqrs., as they shall judge best for the benefit of Dr. Morton and his family.

“Boston, April 3, 1848.”

III. DR. SMILIE'S ADDRESS.

Dr. Smilie is a man of science and ingenuity. He details his own near approaches to this discovery. But he adds, “‘There was a lion in the way,’ which served to restrain me at bay, until Mr. Morton proved himself fitted for the encounter. And, although it is urged by his opposers that he lacked knowledge which should have stimulated his discretion, it is now proved upon their own grounds, that valor, supported by ignorance, is, in some instances, the better part of discretion, in

conferring benefits upon mankind." This pamphlet awards the whole scientific credit to Dr. Wells, but admits that "the peculiar character of the Massachusetts General Hospital Report has given an almost irresistible strength to the favorable tide of Mr. Morton's claims." It ends with the following paragraph:—

Having, in the foregoing, given a correct history of the rise and progress of the discovery of the power of ether to produce insensibility to pain in surgical operations, in connection with the claims of each person, directly or indirectly interested in bringing it before the public, I will now offer an analysis of their claims, to expose the merit that they are separately entitled to from the character of the aid rendered. In the first place, a question is raised or a suggestion made, whether the nitrous oxide might not be used for the production of insensibility to pain during surgical operations? But, notwithstanding the high character of its source, emanating as it did from Sir Humphrey Davy, it remained a recorded suggestion through the many editions of his works, for the lapse of nearly half a century, and had been read and re-read by persons of almost every grade of talent in every department of study, from the student to the professor,—long trained in the preparation of its basis for the purpose of experiment. Still it passed through an ordeal so varied, without ever being subjected to a single test in that direction; while the mesmerizer was affording daily stimulus for its trial, by the record of his painless operations upon persons under the influence of his reputed science. But it passed the gauntlet of minds engaged in the various combinations of investigation exercised in different directions, without meeting an organization adapted for its development, by making it the subject of

trial, until it fortunately met the eye of Horace Wells, a person possessing qualities of mind of an order required for its development, although deficient in the stamina derived from early education, which led, from the disappointment of cherished and just expectations, to his sadly premature death. From that suggestion, and his acquaintance with Mr. Morton and Dr. Jackson, and the aid derived from them in gaining him an introduction at the Hospital, may be traced the studied, motive influence, which directly aided in making the latter the accidental suggester of ether as a substitute for the agent applied in Mr. Wells's experiments. The former was the adventurer, who with negative merit demonstrated its power, and placed it under the guarantee of high authority in the hands of the profession. And if there is to be an award of merit, we cannot consistently bestow it upon Sir Humphrey Davy, who, with the evidence which led him to make the suggestion, neglected to test it by actual experiment. Neither can we attach merit to the course adopted by W. T. G. Morton, the accidental instrument in developing the resources of ether, as he acted in his application to Dr. Jackson according to the instructions of Mr. Wells, for the express purpose of obtaining the agent employed in his experiments; and least of all to Dr. Jackson, who, to avoid the trouble attendant upon its preparation, in the press of more urgent duties, gave qualified advice for the use of ether from the known similarity of effect producing exhilaration,—which he directly specified at the time, with the probable danger incurred by its use. But merit is naturally directed to Horace Wells, who tested an untried suggestion of long standing, from his knowledge of the composition of its basis and harmless effect, and proved its applicability, which directly laid the foundation for the discovery of a more ready and certain agent, derived through the fortunate instruments of chance.

IV. CONGRESSIONAL REPORT.

THIRTIETH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION.—REPORT, No. 114.—HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WILLIAM T. G. MORTON. — SULPHURIC ETHER.

Feb. 23, 1849, laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.

Dr. Edwards, from the Select Committee, to whom the subject was referred, made the following Report : —

The Select Committee, to whom was referred the memorial of William T. G. Morton, asking compensation from Congress for the discovery of the anæsthetic or pain-subduing property of sulphuric ether, report,— That the following memorial was presented to the House on Jan. 19, 1849, and was on the next day referred to the Committee : —

“ To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled :

“ Your petitioner, William T. G. Morton, respectfully represents, that he is a dentist in the city of Boston ; that in the year 1846, and for several years previously thereto, he was in the prosperous and lucrative practice of his profession in that city ; his actual annual receipts from his business, as his accounts will show, being between nine and ten thousand dollars.

“ That his occupation obliging him to see frequent instances of physical suffering, he was, as many others had been, induced to consider whether there might not be some means of alleviating such sufferings, and rendering operations less painful to those obliged to submit to them.

“ That, in pursuance of this object, he examined such known and approved treatises on materia medica as he could obtain, and consulted with the most learned persons to whom he could get access, but found the scientific knowledge on this subject wholly vague and unsatisfactory ; that, nevertheless, he continued the investigation, and, gathering all the information he could, was led, step by step, after many examinations and

experiments, to the belief that sulphuric ether, properly administered, might produce partial if not total insensibility; that, desirous to verify his belief by actual experiment on the human system, and finding the idea prevalent among the scientific that any application which would be productive of such effects would be injurious to health, if not fatal to life, he made the experiment upon himself, and, after an unconsciousness of several minutes, awoke with no injury to health; that, thus confirmed in his views, he proceeded, against much opposition and amidst many obstacles, until at last, in the presence of the most eminent surgeons and physicians of a public institution, and on a public occasion, he was enabled to manifest the truth of his conception, and exhibited a patient submitting to an amputation of a leg, without the slightest sentiment of pain, or the least injury to general health in consequence of the application which produced this insensibility.

“Your petitioner would further state, that, interested in the investigations which resulted in this discovery, he devoted himself exclusively to them, to the neglect of his ordinary and regular business, in consequence of which his practice became almost entirely lost to him; that his experiments and the various arrangements and preparations which the calls upon him from all parts of the country, as well as from foreign countries, obliged him to make, and which a belief in the validity of his patent induced him to suppose would not be unrequited, were very expensive, and involved him deeply in debt; that the patents which he obtained, though legally valid, were in fact wholly valueless in a pecuniary sense; and that he finds himself now, after all his outlays, exertions, and endeavors, with his practice greatly abridged, his reputation injured by the efforts of those who opposed with great warmth the introduction of his discovery; his health impaired by mental anxiety and over-exertion; himself reduced to poverty, embarrassment, and pecuniary distress; and probably the only being living who has been a sufferer from a discovery which enables the world to rejoice in an exemption from many sufferings.

“Your petitioner states only facts which are well and widely known. He therefore respectfully prays your honorable body, that—considering the nature of the discovery; the benefit which it confers, and must continue to confer so long as nature lasts, upon humanity; the price at which your petitioner effected it, in the serious injury to his business; the detriment to his health; the entire absence of any remuneration from the privileges under his patent, and that it is of direct benefit to the government, by its use in the army and navy—you should grant him such relief as might seem to you sufficient to restore him at least to that position in which he was before

he made known to the world a discovery which enables man to undergo, without the sense of pain, the severest physical trials to which human nature is subject.

“And your petitioner will ever pray, &c.

“WM. T. G. MORTON.”

The day on which the above memorial was presented to the Committee, the Chairman addressed the following letter to Dr. Charles T. Jackson, of Boston, knowing that a controversy had long existed between him and the memorialist in relation to the discovery claimed:—

“House of Representatives, Jan. 20, 1849.

“Sir,—I write to inform you that a memorial of Wm. T. G. Morton was presented to the House of Representatives, and referred to a Committee on the patenting of compound medicines, of which I am Chairman. The memorialist claims the discovery and practical application of sulphuric ether in producing anæsthesia, and asks remuneration from Congress. I have long known of a controversy as to this discovery, and am aware that you claim this as yours. I shall with pleasure receive any communications on this subject.

“Your obedient servant,

“T. O. EDWARDS, Chairman, &c.

“Dr. Charles T. Jackson.”

The following reply was received:—

“Boston, Jan. 23, 1849.

“Dear Sir,—I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your favor of 20th instant, in relation to the claims set up by Wm. T. G. Morton to the discovery of etherization, and most heartily thank you for this prompt and friendly intelligence, and shall very speedily send a remonstrance from the physicians and citizens generally of Boston. You will very much oblige me by waiting a few days before bringing up the subject; for we are taken by surprise in this matter, the movements of Morton and his friends having been concealed and unknown to us. The moment I heard that Morton had gone to Washington with some scheme of gaining notice from Government, I wrote you a letter, having learned that you were interested in the protection of our profession from quackery, and that as a physician you would be likely to interest yourself in this subject. I was very glad to learn by your letter that you were Chairman of

the Committee before whom the question of the discovery of etherization would come. I am satisfied that ample proof will be laid before you, showing that Morton was in no sense the discoverer of etherization.

“I will visit you in person before long, and then shall be able to explain every thing that may not be perfectly clear.

“Were it not that my urgent duties as United States geologist required all my time, I should rejoice in being able to lay my case before Congress; knowing that there is much more facility in arriving at the truth, when both sides are examined, where there is not so much local feeling as exists in the vicinity of our Hospital.

“I shall deem it necessary, for the cause of truth, science, and for the credit of our profession, to lay my case fairly before you; and you shall soon have all the documents we can furnish. I now send you Dr. Gay’s statement, which please accept.

“With the highest regard, I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

“CHARLES T. JACKSON, 31, Somerset-street, Boston.

“Hon. Thomas O. Edwards.”

“Professor Silliman, Professor Hare, Professor Gibson, and all our men of science who have examined the evidence, decide in my favor.

“C. T. J.”

The following remonstrance was presented to the House, and referred to the Committee:—

“To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

“The undersigned begs leave to represent, that, whereas a memorial has been presented to the Congress of the United States by William Thomas Green Morton, of the city of Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, representing that, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, he, the said Morton, made, in the city of Boston aforesaid, a discovery by which the human body is rendered insensible to pain during surgical operations, and during other serious and violent affections, by means of the vapor of sulphuric ether inhaled into the lungs,—praying also for a national remuneration or reward for making the said discovery, and for its practical application; and whereas the said discovery was made by the undersigned, without the knowledge of the said Morton, and without the co-operation or assistance of any person whomsoever, and was

communicated by the undersigned to various persons, from the spring and autumn of eighteen hundred and forty-two to the thirtieth day of September, eighteen hundred and forty-six inclusive, and on the said thirtieth day of September was also communicated by the undersigned to the said Morton, — he, the said Morton, being, previous to the said communication of the discovery to him, wholly ignorant of the anæsthetic properties and effects of sulphuric ether aforesaid; and whereas the undersigned did also, on the thirtieth day of September, eighteen hundred and forty-six, devise and commit to the said Morton the performance of an experiment for the verification of the said discovery, so far as the extracting of teeth is concerned; and whereas the said Morton, acting in strict conformity with the instructions and upon the exclusive and expressly-assumed responsibility of the undersigned, did, to the extent of a painless extraction of a tooth, successfully verify the said discovery; and whereas the undersigned did, shortly afterwards, cause the discovery to be further verified by the surgeons of the Massachusetts General Hospital, in the first painless capital operation ever performed under the influence of the ether-vapor; and whereas the signature of the undersigned to certain letters patent, taken out in the joint names of the undersigned and of the said Morton, declaring the discovery to be their joint invention, was obtained through the representation of Robert H. Eddy, Esq., of said Boston, the solicitor by whom the said letters patent were procured, and copartner with the said Morton in the profits thereof, that the undersigned ‘might lose all his credit as a discoverer,’ if he did not consent to become a party to the said letters patent; and whereas the undersigned, after being instructed by eminent legal counsel that the said Morton had not rendered himself in any sense a joint discoverer, by reason of the painless extraction of a tooth as aforesaid, and that he had not thereby acquired any right either to an exclusive patent or to participation with the undersigned in any patent upon the said discovery, did publicly repudiate all connection with the said letters patent, and did refuse any part of the proceeds arising from the sale of licenses under the same; and did, as he originally intended, give the discovery freely to the world, to the full extent of his interest; evidence of all which is herewith submitted. The undersigned does, therefore, earnestly remonstrate against the memorial of the said Morton, and prays that his petition may not be granted; and that there may not be, on the part of the Congress of the United States, any recognition whatever of his claims to the said discovery.

“CHARLES T. JACKSON.

“Washington, D. C., Jan. 29, 1849.”

Dr. Jackson and Dr. Morton each appeared before the Committee on several occasions; and Mr. J. L. Lord, attorney for Dr. Jackson, presented the testimony in his favor. Various pamphlets and numerous letters, together with numerous conflicting and irrelevant affidavits, were referred to us; and, after an examination of more than a month, and a patient and careful weighing of all the facts as presented, we report that, —

On the 12th day of November, 1846, a patent was issued by the Department of State to Dr. William T. G. Morton, for a new and useful improvement in surgical operations, which consists in rendering the patient insensible to pain, by the inhalation of the vapor of sulphuric ether.

The interest of Dr. Jackson in the patent was previously assigned to Dr. Morton, who now brings it before Congress with his memorial, and offers to surrender it. He asks from Congress some consideration for the valuable boon which he claims to have conferred upon his country and the world, and remuneration for his own personal sacrifices in making the discovery. And he avers that he himself is the sole discoverer, aided only by the current knowledge of the day, which he derived from books, and from conversation with Dr. Jackson and other scientific men. Dr. Jackson, on his part, denies that Dr. Morton is the author of the discovery; but claims the whole merit as his own, and avers that in the experiments made and operations performed by Dr. Morton, testing the truth and value of the discovery, and bringing it before the world; Dr. Morton acted as agent, and that all was done by his special directions, and on his personal and professional responsibility. The contending parties have presented to the public their respective statements, and have adduced much evidence in their support; all of which your Committee have felt it their duty carefully to examine and consider.

The specifications which accompany the patent show what the contending parties admit to have been known on the subject prior to alleged discovery, and also what they claim as exclusively their own contribution to the existing mass of human knowledge. It is sufficient to refer to the following clause in the specification: "It has been known that the vapors of some, if not of all these chemical distillations, particularly those of sulphuric ether, when breathed or introduced into the lungs of an animal, have produced a peculiar effect upon its nervous system, one which has been supposed to be analogous to what is usually termed intoxication. It has never, to our knowledge, been known until our discovery, that the inhalation of such vapors (particularly those of sulphuric ether) would produce insensibility to pain, or such a state of quiet of nervous action as to render a person or animal incapable, to a great extent, if not entirely, of experiencing pain, while under the action of the knife or other instrument of operation of a surgeon, calculated to produce pain. This is our discovery."

In addition to this, the vapor of ether, for the last half-century, has been known as a nepenthe both in Europe and America, and has been inhaled for the relief of inflammations, spasms, and the effect produced by the inhalation of chlorine gas. Sir Humphrey Davy long ago suggested, that the inhalation of a gas (the nitrous oxyde) might be used to prevent pain in surgical operations; and the inhalation of it was publicly tried in a dental operation, but without success, by Dr. Horace Wells, in Boston, in 1844, in the presence of many persons, and Dr. Morton aided in the experiment.

In July, 1847, after the right to the discovery had become a matter of contest, Dr. Morton drew up a narrative, in the form of a memorial to the Academy of Sciences at Paris, which was, in the autumn of the same year, presented by

M. Arago, in which he gives a detailed statement of what he claims as his discovery and the steps by which he arrived at its consummation. In this he states, that, in the summer of 1844, he was a student of Dr. Jackson and a boarder in his family. He details a conversation, in which Dr. Jackson explained the well-known effects of sulphuric ether on the nervous system, when taken by inhalation, and adds that Dr. Jackson, in the same conversation, said that he had sometimes used ether as a local application to relieve pain in the teeth, and recommended it to him for that purpose, and afterwards sent him a vial of highly rectified chloric ether, which he subsequently used.

This conversation with Dr. Jackson; the effect produced by the use of ether, directly applied to the teeth, in deadening pain; the experiment of Dr. Horace Wells, in the following winter, with nitrous oxide, in which he assisted; and his subsequent reading, which now took a decided turn, directed his mind to the subject, and led to further experiments. He gives the necessities of the profession as the cause which urged him on in the path of discovery. He details several attempts in the summer of 1846, none of which were entirely successful, to produce insensibility to pain by the inhalation of ether; and various efforts to provide some apparatus from which it might be conveniently inhaled. At last, on the 30th of September, he again called on Dr. Jackson for the purpose of obtaining further information as to the preparation and use of the ether, and, at the same time, studious to conceal the object which he had in view, lest Dr. Jackson should turn his thoughts in the same direction, and anticipate him in the discovery. He states a conversation with Dr. Jackson on that day, opened on his part in a manner most likely to cover his real purpose, and, at the same time, elicit the information desired. He says his declared purpose was to get a refractory patient in

his power, so that he could operate; and that he said nothing about performing the operation without pain. He first proposed to act on the imagination of the patient, merely by administering atmospheric air from a gas bag. This Dr. Jackson condemned; spoke of Dr. Wells and his nitrous oxide with derision, on which Dr. Morton asked him why he could not use the sulphuric ether. This Dr. Jackson at once approved; spoke of the stupifying effects of the sulphuric ether, and of the students taking it at Cambridge, and said that the patient would be dull and stupefied, so that the operator could do what he pleased with him and he would not be able to help himself; and, after some conversation about the preparation of ether, and directions as to the shop at which the best could be had, Dr. Jackson gave him a flask, with a glass tube, with which to administer it; and they parted. Dr. Morton states that he procured the ether, went to his office, locked himself up, and tried its effects on himself; and afterwards, on the same day, extracted a tooth without *pain*, or even *consciousness*, from a patient whom he had put under its influence. And that, in order to bring out the discovery, he applied to surgeons of the Hospital to suffer it to be tried in some surgical operations, which they consented to do.

Dr. Jackson denies the truth of this statement, thus far, in all its material parts. He denies that Dr. Morton, prior to their interview on the 30th of September, 1846, had any knowledge of sulphuric ether, or its effects on the nervous system;—that he was, prior to that time, in pursuit of any discovery to prevent pain in dental operations, or that he had made any experiments whatever tending to that object; and he avers that the operation of the 30th September was performed by Dr. Morton as his *agent*, by his direction, and on his sole responsibility;—that, in other words, he was the actor and Dr. Morton his instrument; and that such

also was the case in the application to the surgeons of the Hospital, and the successful experiments there tried in sundry operations. On these questions much evidence is adduced, and on their determination rests the whole merit of the discovery.

To prove, amongst other matters, that Dr. Morton had no knowledge of sulphuric ether prior to September 30th, Dr. Jackson takes the testimony of two persons — George O. Barnes and James M'Intyre — who were his students in chemistry, and present at the interview. Barnes details a conversation about the use of atmospheric air to operate upon the imagination of the patient, which Dr. Jackson condemned; says that nitrous oxide was named, but not sulphuric ether, when Dr. Jackson said, "Now, Morton, I can tell you something that will produce a real effect. Go to Burnett the apothecary, and get some very strong sulphuric ether, — the stronger the better; *spatter* it on your handkerchief; put it to your patient's mouth; take care that it be well inhaled; and, in a minute or two, perfect insensibility will be produced." "Sulphuric ether," said Morton, "what is that? *Is it a gas?*"

It will be remarked, that the witness here professes to speak with perfect accuracy, giving this part of the conversation in its order in the form of a dialogue; but, if he be entirely correct, it involves a singular absurdity. Dr. Jackson directs that the ether shall be administered by *spattering* it on a handkerchief; on which Dr. Morton asks him, "Is it gas?" as if gas could be spattered on a handkerchief, and then administered to a patient. It is possible, however, that the very language put in the mouths of the interlocutors was, in fact, used; but, if so, Dr. Morton could not have asked the question, "*Is it gas?*" in *ignorance*, for the fact that it was a liquid was explained to him in the very directions of its use; but it must

have been to disguise his knowledge, and with it his purpose.

The statement of James M'Intyre, the other witness, is less positive, and more consistent with probability. After stating the conversation about the atmospheric air and the nitrous oxide, he says :—

“ As Morton was going away, Dr. Jackson told him that he could tell him something that would make the patient insensible, and then he could do what he had a mind to with him ; Morton asked what it was ; Dr. Jackson then told him to go to Burnett's, and get some pure sulphuric ether, and *pour* it on a handkerchief, and let her inhale it. Morton asked what sulphuric ether was ; what kind of looking stuff it was. I stayed in the front room, while Morton and Dr. Jackson went to look at the ether. From Morton's questions about the ether, I am satisfied he knew nothing about its properties or nature.”

There is no inherent difficulty in this statement, and that Mr. Barnes is incorrect is rendered the more probable from another consideration. If, after Dr. Jackson had directed Morton to go to a drug-store and get sulphuric ether, and administer it by *sprinkling* or *pouring* it on a handkerchief, Morton had asked if it was *gas*, how could the absurdity have escaped the observation of the students in chemistry ? Would the two young men have failed to make it a subject of ridicule, in conversation with each other, so that it would have been impressed on the memory of both ? But the witnesses concur in this, that, at the time of that conversation, Dr. Morton had, or pretended to have, no knowledge of sulphuric ether, or its effects upon the nervous system.

This does not militate against the general effect of the statement of Dr. Morton. He went, as he says, to Dr. Jackson to obtain from him certain information, but at the

same time anxious to conceal from him the object of his pursuit, being fearful lest Dr. Jackson might anticipate him in bringing the discovery to perfection. We deal with this matter as a question of fact, not of words, and do not decide whether Dr. Morton might consistently, with the obligations which trust imposes, use artificial means to conceal a mental conception which he did not wish to divulge. We believe, however, where a person has a right to his secret, and is under no obligations to disclose it, a direct denial of that which was fact for the purpose of such concealment has not been visited with strong moral censure. We would instance the case of Walter Scott, who, at the table of George IV., when toasted by his majesty as the author of *Waverley*, declared that he was *not* the author. But as to the fact of Mr. Morton's knowledge:—

The statement of Theodore Metcalf, a gentleman of undisputed veracity, shows that, as early as July 6, 1846, Dr. Morton talked and thought of sulphuric ether; had been informed of what was then currently known in the scientific world as to its effects on the nervous system; that nitrous oxide was spoken of by him, and the unsuccessful experiment made by Dr. Wells. Dr. Morton had in his possession at this time a vial of sulphuric ether, which Mr. Metcalf smelled and examined; so that, after July 6, 1846, Dr. Morton could not but have known, until he forgot his knowledge, "what kind of stuff" sulphuric ether was, and, generally, something of its application and effects. There is much evidence corroborating that of Mr. Metcalf on this point, which will be considered hereafter. Suffice it to say, that we think Dr. Morton's knowledge to this extent well established; and we think it equally clear, that, in his conversation with Dr. Jackson in the presence of his students, he used artifice to conceal his knowledge. But did Dr. Morton, prior to the 30th of September, 1846,

engage in the attempted discovery of some agent to prevent pain in dental operations? And did it occur to him to try the vapor of sulphuric ether as such agent? This is also affirmed on the one side, and denied on the other.

The testimony of Francis Whitman goes to this point. He says: "One day, I think it was previously to July, 1846, Dr. Morton, in speaking of improvements he had made in his profession, and of some one improvement in particular, said if he could only extract them without pain, 'he would make a stir.' I replied I hardly thought it could be done. He said he believed it could, and that he would find out something yet to accomplish his purpose." "Some time in July last, he spoke of having his patients come in at one door, having all their teeth extracted, and without knowing it, and then going into the next room, and having a full set put in." He adds, "that Dr. Morton came into the office one day in great glee, exclaiming that he had found it, and that he could extract teeth without pain."

There is nothing in the case to cast a shade over the testimony of this witness. His statement involves no contradiction or improbability; he speaks of matters which would be likely to make a distinct impression at the time: therefore your Committee could not refuse him credence, even if he were uncorroborated; but this is by no means the case. Dr. Granville G. Hayden testifies that Dr. Morton applied to him about the last of June, 1846, and desired to make some arrangement that would relieve him from the cares of his office, as he had an idea in his head connected with dentistry, which he thought would be one of the greatest things ever known, and that he wished to give all his time to its development. He at first declined to state its nature, but at length told Dr. Hayden it was something he had discovered which would enable him to extract teeth without pain; said that he had already tried its effects

upon a dog, and described its operation. He said it was not nitrous oxide, and requested Dr. Hayden to say nothing about the matter. This contract with Dr. Hayden was reduced to writing on the 30th of June, 1846, as appears by the statement of Richard H. Dana, junior, the counsel who drew the instrument; and, at the time he was preparing it, Dr. Morton told him that he was in progress of a discovery, which, if successful, would revolutionize the practice of dentistry.

In the month of August, he told Dr. Hayden that his agent was sulphuric ether, taken by inhalation; said he had inhaled it himself, and tried to get three young men in his office to inhale it. He afterwards spoke of ill success and discouragement in the use of ether, and Dr. Hayden suggested that he should consult a chemist on the subject.

William P. Leavitt, and Thomas R. Spear, junior, who were students in the office, testify to the purchase of sulphuric ether for Dr. Morton, in July and August; that he prevailed on them to inhale the ether; and that he offered them a reward, if they would find some one who would consent to have a tooth extracted under its influence; and that, after Dr. Hayden came, Dr. Morton seemed wholly absorbed with his experiments; that he had bottles and India-rubber bags in a small room in his office, in which room he frequently locked himself up.

Joseph M. Wightman, a gentleman of very high character, states that, in the summer of 1846, Dr. Morton applied to him for information upon increasing the security of artificial teeth by atmospheric pressure; a short time after, he stated he had abandoned his views, which he found were erroneous, and was then engaged in something of much greater importance in his profession. "He then wished me to show him bags of India-rubber cloth made for retaining gas, and inquired whether it would do to put sulphuric

ether in them." It is very clearly shown that these interviews occurred prior to the conversation with Dr. Jackson, on the 30th of September, 1846; nor is the mass of evidence above referred to weakened in its force, so far as it bears on the points now under consideration, by the opposing testimony. This consists of statements alleged to have been made by Dr. Morton, attributing the discovery to Dr. Jackson; statements that he had never inhaled the ether, and statements on the part of Spear and Leavitt, that they inhaled the ether for the first time, after the 30th of September, 1846. Generally, this is a species of evidence little to be relied upon, less in a heated controversy like this in which the community participate, than in ordinary cases; but we will refer to this more especially by and by, when we come to consider the several depositions. But in no wise can evidence like this weigh against a chain of facts and circumstances, proved, as in this case, by the testimony of many disconnected witnesses. There are no contemporaneous facts or declarations stated by the rebutting witnesses on this branch of the case, except by Don P. Wilson, who says he was *in and out* of Morton's office quite frequently during the summer and the month of September, 1846; never saw sulphuric ether there; never heard Morton speak of it, that he can remember; never perceived its odor about the clothes of Morton or otherwise, and thinks it could not have been used in the office without his having perceived its odor. He says, that, during the summer of 1846, he often heard Morton speak of a new discovery which he was about to publish to the world, and which, to use his own words, "would revolutionize the whole practice of dentistry, and secure to him a fortune;" but he never hesitated to tell me and others, that "it consisted in a new preparation for filling teeth and a new mode of making teeth, and setting them to plate." This was Morton's

great hobby during the summer of 1846, and during the month of September, the same year.

And John E. Hunt, whose statement on those subjects is the same with that of Wilson, except that he says he was "connected with the office in the summer of 1846" — how connected he does not say, but that he "entered the office early in the month of November of that year" — and was assistant-dentist. Now, it is sufficiently apparent, that the discovery of which Dr. Morton did not hesitate to speak publicly to these young men "and others," could not be the one which he was at the same time carefully concealing; and, for the rest, the whole amount of this evidence is, that these persons, who occasionally visited the office of Dr. Morton in the summer of 1846, did not discover what he took especial pains to conceal. The affidavit of William A. Brewer, that the house to which he belonged sold nothing but the best sulphuric ether, is no doubt true, according to the opinion of the witness; but it is hardly possible for him to know that none of an inferior quality left the shop, even if the best only were purchased or prepared, as it is an article greatly subject to deterioration by time, especially if the vessel containing it be often uncorked or remain open for a length of time, in which case the pure volatile ether flies off in vapor, and the dregs remain. Hence the chemical analysis had of the ether remaining in the demijohn does, in our judgment, fall far short of proving its true quality when purchased at the druggist's.

But, on the whole, the evidence thus far leaves no doubt on the minds of your Committee, that, prior to his interview with Dr. Jackson, on the 30th of September, 1846, Dr. Morton was possessed of the idea that the inhalation of sulphuric ether would render a patient insensible to pain during a dental operation; that his time and attention were for several months previously devoted to the bringing about

this result ; and that he called on Dr. Jackson that day to obtain information by which he could obviate certain difficulties which he encountered in his experiments, and that he disguised his knowledge and purpose from Dr. Jackson, lest he should penetrate his secret and anticipate his discovery. And as to that interview, of the two witnesses present, one, James M'Intyre, gives an account of the conversation, agreeing in all matters of substance with the account of Dr. Morton, except only that, according to him, Dr. Jackson, and not Dr. Morton, first spoke of the use of ether.

George O. Barnes said that Dr. Jackson, after directing Dr. Morton how to give the ether, said "that the patients, after breathing a dozen breaths, would fall back insensible, and you can do with them as you please *without their knowing any thing about it or feeling any pain* ; so that you can take out their teeth at your leisure." This suggestion as to *insensibility to pain* had become, as was no doubt supposed, the very point in issue. It was a most striking remark, and, if in truth it was made, was most likely to impress both the young men present. Both state the conversation in its immediate context ; so that the statement of this impression by one, and its omission by the other, amounts to a discrepancy which greatly weakens the force of the affirmative statements. We have already shown a still more striking discrepancy between these witnesses in the question attributed by Barnes to Morton — "Is it a gas?" — after Mr. Morton had been told to get it at an apothecary's, and *spatter* it on a handkerchief ; and we are well satisfied, in this particular as in that, it is more safe to rely on the evidence of M'Intyre.

The evidence, then, amounts to this: Dr. Morton came into Dr. Jackson's office, having in his hand a gas-bag, with which he proposed to operate on the imagination of a re-

fractory patient by administering to her atmospheric air. Dr. Jackson ridiculed the idea. Nitrous oxide was spoken of; Dr. Jackson objected to that, saying to Morton, that, if he attempted to make it, it would become nitric oxide. He then suggested sulphuric ether, and said it would make the patient insensible, and Morton could do what he pleased with her. This conversation, it will be noted, all took place about a refractory patient; the object considered was the mode of bringing a nervous patient to a condition in which she could be operated upon, not in which she would feel no pain from the operation — Mr. M'Intyre says not one word about pain or its absence in the operation — but that the operator could do what he pleased with the patient under the influence of sulphuric ether. If this conclusion be correct, the information given by Dr. Jackson to Dr. Morton was no more than the current knowledge of the age, — no more than he would have been told by any scientific man, or than he would have read in books which treat of chemistry and medicine; and, if it differed in any thing from the general opinion of scientific men, it was in a stronger than ordinary assurance that the vapor was not injurious to health. At the same time; it is very clear to your Committee that Dr. Morton relied more implicitly on information which he obtained from Dr. Jackson than from any other source, and that the information was given with the unhesitating confidence arising from a consciousness of high scientific attainments.

This view of the subject awards to Dr. Jackson the merit of greatly aiding, by his advice and instructions, in the discovery. He did not himself produce the result, which was new; or, by his information, carry knowledge in that direction beyond the point it had already reached. He was a safe and reliable guide to its then utmost limit in that direction, — the Calpe and Abyla of scientific research, —

but left the sea beyond to be explored by others. Nor is the result changed as to the merit of the discovery, if we take the testimony of Barnes instead of M'Intyre, as to what occurred at this conversation. On that hypothesis Dr. Jackson suggested to Dr. Morton, that his patient, under the influence of the vapor of sulphuric ether, would be insensible to pain during his dental operations; but this was no new idea to Dr. Morton: he had thought and spoken of it long before. He had for months given himself up to its consideration, and he had talked of it to a host of witnesses referred to above; some directly, some in ambiguous phrase; but so, as now, when the facts and their connection and dependence are known, to leave no doubt of the object of his study and pursuit. Then if, on the 30th of September, 1846, Dr. Jackson told him that the vapor of sulphuric ether would render his patients insensible to pain, he gave him no new information; for he was armed with no fact to show it. He gave a speculation of his own, an inference he had drawn from his scientific knowledge; but the idea was already in the mind of Dr. Morton: he had speculated on the same subject, and in the same direction. He had drawn the same inference from the same general knowledge, and he had tried an experiment on his own person, with a view of testing its correctness. It is the case of one man in the pursuit of a discovery, who has his mind fixed upon the object, and the mode of effecting it determined on, who consults with another who confirms and supports his previously entertained opinions.

Nor is it, in our opinion, at all material whether Dr. Jackson had or had not been long before impressed with the conviction that this great object could be effected by the same agent, and in the same manner in which it has been brought about. If he made the discovery, he did not give it to the world. The case would have been different,

if he had communicated the idea to Dr. Morton prior to his researches in the summer of 1846. But this is nowhere claimed by Dr. Jackson or averred by any of his witnesses.

It is, however, contended by Dr. Jackson, that, in the administration of ether to his patient on the 30th September, and in the subsequent exhibition of it in the Hospital, Dr. Morton acted as his agent merely; that he was, in fact, the experimenter as well as the discoverer, and the merit of success or the responsibility of failure rested on him. This position your Committee will now proceed to examine.

This claim is not supported by the evidence which has been, thus far, considered: indeed, it bears strongly against it, and your Committee can find no contemporary matter touching this point, except a statement of George O. Barnes, not yet commented upon. The witness, after stating Dr. Jackson's efforts to overcome the scruples of Morton, says: "Indeed, Dr. Jackson urged the matter very earnestly and with perfect confidence, taking on himself the whole responsibility." Now, if this be a deduction, an inference from the conversation stated, it is of no value whatever, except to show a certain earnestness in the witness. If it be but a further declaration, it is unsupported by the testimony of M'Intyre; and, in a third important particular, differs from and goes beyond him. But the well-attested conduct of the parties themselves, at the time of the transaction in which this agency is claimed to have been conferred and accepted, what is termed by lawyers the *res gestæ*, shows more clearly than every thing else the true relation which they then bore to each other, and each of them to the subject-matter in controversy.

Dr. Jackson claims that he had long had in his mind a conviction that the vapor of sulphuric ether could be inhaled without danger or injury to the patient, and that, under its influence, surgical operations could be performed without

pain. All admit him to be a man of science, fully aware of the mighty value of such a discovery, and not at all indifferent to his own reputation in the scientific world. In this state of things, we cannot conceive it possible that he could have remained inactive for years, waiting till chance should send him some one to bring out his great discovery, instead of proceeding himself by direct experiment. It is not at all disputed, that Dr. Morton went to Dr. Jackson's shop that day uninvited; that *his* wants, and not Dr. Jackson's wishes and purposes, led to the conversation; that there was nothing of an especially confidential nature between them; and that what Dr. Jackson said to him, he said in the usual manner of public conversation, and not like a man who was engaging another to bring out a most important discovery to the world.

But, take Dr. Morton to be just what Dr. Jackson and his two witnesses represent him to have been at the time of that conversation, was he the man whom Dr. Jackson would have trusted to represent him in a matter so deeply involving his character and his fame? Say it is Jackson's discovery, the experiment is his, *he* is responsible for the consequences. If it succeed, he has made the noblest contribution to surgical science which the century has witnessed; if it fail, the consequences might be most disastrous. Whom does he select to carry out this, the most important conception of his life or of the age? Let his two witnesses answer.

According to them, a man profoundly ignorant of the powerful medicinal agent which he was directed to employ, one who did not know what kind of "stuff" sulphuric ether was, and who wished to see it in order thus to test its qualities, is selected by one of the first scientific men of the age to conduct a delicate and dangerous experiment with this same sulphuric ether, on the success of which even

more than reputation depended. If Dr. Jackson had dwelt upon the subject, conceived the discovery in his own mind, considered it with a view of making it known to the world and useful to mankind, he knew that much depended on the first public exhibition ; and he also knew that it required science, prudence, and skill to render the experiment successful, and prevent its becoming disastrous. Sulphuric ether would produce insensibility to pain ; *too little* of it would make the experiment ineffectual, and bring the operator and his nostrum into ridicule ; *too much*, or the proper quantity *unskilfully administered*, would produce asphyxia, probably death. Under these circumstances, how can your Committee believe that Dr. Jackson would have trusted such a man, as his witnesses represent Dr. Morton to be, with his first experiment upon his great discovery ? Would it not have been inexcusable in him to have done so ? Would it not have shown a recklessness of his own fame and the lives of his fellow-men ?

Such a conclusion, your Committee are satisfied, cannot be imputed to him with justice. Had Dr. Jackson made the discovery and felt that it was his, could he have failed to be at once aware of its vast importance, and the world-wide reputation it would give him ? Would he have trusted it for a moment in the hands of a man less skilful and scientific than himself ?—indeed, would he have entrusted it with any one ? But would he not have himself seen that it was administered in a proper manner, and under proper conditions to make it safe and effectual ? Would he not have stood by, and watched the sinking pulse of his first subject, until insensibility was complete, and have been careful to withdraw it when he saw it was likely to endanger life, and thus done all that science and skill could do to avoid a failure or a catastrophe ? But there was nothing of this. Having given the information

which he did give in the conversation with Dr. Morton, he turned neither to the right nor left, nor troubled himself further on the subject, until he was advised by Dr. Morton that the experiment had been successful. He expresses no surprise, no emotion; it is an incident of the day,—an occurrence. According to the testimony of Barnes, he advises Dr. Morton to try it in some capital operation in the Hospital; does not say he will try it himself, which he might or ought to have done, if Morton had been his agent. He does not propose to get permission for Dr. Morton so to try it; though he well knew the application by himself, or in his name, would ensure the permission. He advises Dr. Morton to get permission, and try it in the Hospital, and does not propose to be present, and in fact is not present, when the trial is made, though the Hospital was but five minutes' walk from his door. That operation was successfully performed, and another was noticed to take place the next day, about which Dr. Jackson gave himself no concern, and at which he was not present. The Committee feel that his conduct during this time was wholly inconsistent with the fact, that he recognized the discovery as his own, and that these were his experiments.

It is urged as a reason for his absence at the first operation in the Hospital, that Dr. Morton did not inform him at what time it was to take place. As to this, there is no proof that he did or did not inform him; but surely, had Dr. Jackson felt the solicitude which the discoverer would naturally feel, he would have informed himself, and his daily associations naturally led him to the knowledge. On the other hand, after the successful operation of the 30th of September, and after Dr. Morton had seen his patient and ascertained that he had suffered no injury from the ether,—elated with his success, he consulted Dr. Hayden as to the mode of bringing out the discovery, and suggested at

once that he would introduce it into the Hospital. A few days afterwards, he told Dr. Hayden that Dr. Jackson would not countenance the discovery, and again said he would go to Dr. Warren and endeavor to have it introduced into the Hospital. The fact that Dr. Jackson refused to give Dr. Morton a certificate that ether was harmless in its effects, or might be used with safety, is admitted by Dr. Jackson in his defence by the Messrs. Lord; but they say it proves nothing but Dr. Jackson's "unwillingness to figure in Dr. Morton's advertisements, and his prudence in refusing to make himself responsible for any thing and every thing Morton, in his ignorance, might do, with an agent liable to the most dangerous abuse."

This, if it stood alone, might be satisfactory; but one of the witnesses, Geo. O. Barnes, says that, on the 30th of September, Dr. Jackson employed Dr. Morton to use this very agent. He assured him it would "*not do the least injury.*" He "urged the matter very earnestly, *expressly taking on himself* all the responsibility;" and it was on the 1st of October, the morning after the *successful* experiment, that Dr. Jackson refused to give a certificate "that ether was harmless in its effects," and yet, on this same day, the witness Barnes says, on being advised by Dr. Morton of the success of the operation, Dr. Jackson said to him: "You must go to Dr. Warren, and get his permission to administer it in the Massachusetts General Hospital, and, if possible, it should be on a capital operation." And he goes on to say that Morton strongly objected at first to going to the Hospital; that everybody would smell the ether, and it would not be kept secret; but that, after learning something to disguise the odor, he agreed to apply to the Hospital.

We have already adverted to the fact, that Dr. Morton, the very evening after the successful operation, suggested to Dr. Hayden that he would go to the Hospital and get

permission to try the ether there; that he went next morning to Dr. Jackson, and returned, saying Dr. Jackson would not give his countenance to the discovery; and it is admitted that Dr. Jackson refused him the certificate he wished for, and one of the reasons given is that he did not think him fit to be trusted. Is it, then, probable that he urged him to go to the Hospital, and there bring out his (Dr. Jackson's) great discovery? But James M'Intyre was also present on the 1st of October, when Dr. Morton returned and advised Dr. Jackson of the entire success of the experiment; and he says not a word of Dr. Jackson's proposing to Dr. Morton to try an experiment in the Hospital. Your Committee has already remarked on several other points of difference in the testimony of these two witnesses; and in each case, as in this, they felt themselves constrained by the testimony of other witnesses, and by the inherent character of the evidence, to rely on the accuracy of M'Intyre rather than of Mr. Barnes, where these discrepancies occur.

Another difficulty in sustaining the position assumed by Dr. Jackson forcibly impresses itself upon your Committee. According to this, on the 30th of September, Dr. Jackson entrusted Dr. Morton with his discovery, and not only suffered him, but "earnestly urged" him, to use it, assuring him it was perfectly safe; Dr. Morton tried it on the same evening; his success was complete; he brought to Dr. Jackson the next morning conclusive evidence of all this, and Dr. Jackson refused him a certificate because he would not "make himself responsible for any thing and every thing Morton in his ignorance might do with an agent liable to the most dangerous abuse." While nothing is shown to shake Dr. Jackson's confidence in Dr. Morton since the previous day, or at all to change his opinion of him except the triumphant success of the operation which he reported and proved. On the 16th of October, the first operation was

performed in the Hospital, at which, as we have already shown, Dr. Jackson did not attend, and at which his name was not known. The second operation at the Hospital took place on the 17th, Dr. Jackson taking no part in it by his presence or his counsel. Both operations were entirely successful, and both conducted on the part of Dr. Morton to the entire satisfaction of the surgeons of the Hospital. But at this time Dr. Jackson's confidence in Dr. Morton, if he ever did confide in him, is wholly gone. He denies, in the conversation with his neighbor and friend, Caleb Eddy, that under the influence of ether the flesh of a patient can be cut without pain; says Morton "is a reckless man for using it as he has; the chance is he will kill somebody yet;" and, in the interval between the 30th of September and about the 23d of October, he declared that he did not care what Morton did with it, or how much Morton advertised, if his own name was not drawn in with it.

It would seem, that, as Dr. Morton acquired eclat by his constant success, as he continually and rapidly rose in the estimation of other scientific men, he as continually and as rapidly sunk in the estimation of Dr. Jackson. The evidence of Francis Whitman and Mr. Caleb Eddy shows, that, prior and up to the 23d October, Dr. Jackson spoke doubtfully of the effect of ether, and condemned its use; and there is no proof whatever, that within that time he lent the slightest countenance to Dr. Morton to sustain the discovery; and all his remarks, except those stated by Dr. T. E. Hitchcock to have been made to him on the 2d and 3d of October, tend to create distrust and destroy confidence both in the operator and the agent used. His favorable mention of it to Dr. Keep occurred *after* the 26th of October, the actual date not fixed, and was accompanied with a strong general charge of ignorance and recklessness against Morton, who was then in the full tide of successful experiment.

This state of facts is, in the opinion of your Committee, wholly inconsistent with the assumption that Dr. Jackson was the discoverer; that he had employed Dr. Morton to bring out the discovery, and that the experiments of Morton were tried on the responsibility of Dr. Jackson.

On the 30th of September, the first successful operation took place. On the 1st of October, Dr. Morton applied to R. H. Eddy, agent for patents, to aid him in procuring a patent for the discovery. Mr. Eddy took the case into consideration, and did not see Dr. Morton again until the 21st. In the meantime Dr. Morton's experiments had been attended with the most flattering success. Two operations had been performed in the Hospital to the entire satisfaction of the faculty, and the discovery had acquired a footing in the medical world; and prior to the 21st, but the precise day is not stated, Dr. Jackson had a conversation with Mr. Eddy, was informed of the application of Dr. Morton for a patent, and claimed that he had some connection with Dr. Morton in making the discovery. He called on Dr. Morton on the 23d; and it was then arranged that Dr. Jackson was to have \$500 for the information he had given Dr. Morton, if ten per cent on the proceeds of the patent would produce that amount.

This arrangement between the parties, settled by and between themselves in a private conference, proved by their subsequent conversation with Mr. Eddy, and not now denied, shows conclusively the view that each had of his respective participation in the discovery. It was between them both distinctly a business-transaction, — an affair of dollars and cents, and as clearly Dr. Jackson called and introduced the conversation, — not to assert his rights to the discovery, — not to inquire as to its success, for of this public report had advised him, — not to give any advice or caution as to its further use, but to claim a compensation in

money for the advice and information he had given to Morton on the 30th of September; and \$500, if ten per cent on the proceeds of the patent would produce it, was agreed upon as the sum to be paid for that information. This conversation and agreement is entirely consistent with the view we have thus far taken of the case; but it is wholly inexplicable on the ground assumed by Dr. Jackson. But the representations and advice of Mr. Eddy, the common friend of the parties, modified their arrangement. He represented to Dr. Morton, that Dr. Jackson, from having given him the information and advice spoken of on the 30th of September, was entitled to participate in the patent as a joint discoverer; that, if he were not joined in the patent, the fact of his giving that information would be used to impeach the patent; and that, if Dr. Jackson were joined as a patentee, his name and his advice and assistance would be useful in bringing out the discovery and giving it celebrity. With these arguments, Dr. Morton was satisfied, and consented that Dr. Jackson should be named as a joint discoverer in the patent. Mr. Eddy also advised with Dr. Jackson, who informed him, that, "by the laws of the Massachusetts Medical Society, he would be prevented from joining with Dr. Morton in taking out a patent, as he would be expelled from the association if he did so. He further stated, that he intended to make a professional charge of \$500 for the advice he had given him, and that Dr. Morton had acceded to this; that he did not wish his name coupled with Dr. Morton in any manner; that Dr. Morton might take out a patent if he desired to do so, and do what he pleased with it." At a subsequent interview prior to the 27th of October, Mr. Eddy urged Dr. Jackson to waive his objections to associating with Dr. Morton, as "I was confident that he was mistaken in his views as to what would be the action of the medical association; that Dr. Morton could not pro-

perly take out a patent without him ; and that, by joining in the patent, he would of a certainty be obtaining credit as a discoverer ; whereas, should he not do so, he might lose all credit, as in the case of the magnetic telegraph, which I understood from Dr. Jackson he had suggested to Professor Morse." The objection as to the Medical Society was removed on consultation with Dr. Gould. Dr. Jackson consented to join in the patent, and it was agreed that he should have ten per cent of the proceeds for his interest in it.

Your Committee do not feel, that on this question of fact the parties ought to be bound by the legal conclusions of their common friend, Mr. Eddy, or by the papers which they executed in pursuance of his legal advice. But they do consider the communications made by them at the time to Mr. Eddy ; the mutual agreement of the parties between themselves, as touching the discovery and the facts admitted by them on the consultation, as matter of the utmost importance and significance. A voluntary agreement took place between the parties on that day, of which both must have understood the full force and effect, and to which neither seems to have been, or probably could have been, impelled by advice or counsel. It was that the whole right to use the discovery under the patent should be and was assigned to Dr. Morton, he paying to Dr. Jackson ten per cent on all sales for licenses.

Your Committee cannot here fail to remember the unqualified terms of contempt and reprobation in which Dr. Jackson had during the preceding part of that month, down almost to the very date of this arrangement, spoken of Dr. Morton and his alleged ignorance and recklessness in the use of this agent. They cannot conceive it possible, that, if he felt himself to be the true discoverer, he would, by solemn contract, relinquish all power over his discovery,

and place it solely in the hands of a man of whom he thought so illy. Dr. Jackson indignantly repels the idea that it was done for the purpose of gain; and we think it could not be the case, as the pittance reserved to him, if he conceived himself the discoverer, was despicably small. And how could he hope to acquire *fame*, by abandoning the most important discovery of the age; one which, if it were his, and if under the auspices of his reputation, with his skill and science, it were presented to the world, could not fail to place him on the highest scientific and professional eminence? How could he hope to acquire fame, by thus surrendering all control over this discovery, and placing it in the hands of such a man as he had represented, and still represents, Dr. Morton to be?

A careful examination of the above detailed acts and conversations of the parties, down to the 27th of October, about which it would seem to your Committee there could be no doubt, renders it clear almost to a demonstration, that neither Dr. Jackson nor Dr. Morton, nor any of those who had witnessed or aided in the operations, supposed that Dr. Jackson was entitled to the merit of this discovery, or any other merit than that of having communicated important information to Dr. Morton; and, if we trace the conduct of the parties further, this opinion is but confirmed.

On the 7th of November, a capital operation was performed by Dr. Hayward in the Hospital; the patient being under the influence of sulphuric ether administered by Dr. Morton. Dr. Warren, being informed by Dr. Jackson that he suggested the use of sulphuric ether to Dr. Morton, invited him to attend, and administer the ether. He declined for two reasons: one was, that he *was going out of town*; the other, that he could not do so consistently with his arrangements with Dr. Morton: so the first capital operation under the influence of ether was successfully performed, Dr. Jack-

son not yet thinking fit to attend. But, in a communication published in the Boston Daily Advertiser of March 1st, 1847, he says: "I was desirous of testing the ether in a capital operation, and Dr. Warren politely consented to have the trial made; and its results proved entirely satisfactory, an amputation having been performed under the influence of the ethereal vapor without giving any pain to the patient." It strikes the mind with some surprise that Dr. Jackson should claim this operation as an experiment, made by him at his request, and to satisfy himself of the efficacy of the "ethereal vapor" in a capital operation; when the only connection which he had with the operation was to decline attending it when specially invited. Indeed, so entirely did he omit to inform himself on the subject of this experiment — which he declares to be his — that, in the above communication, he names Dr. Warren as the surgeon who performed the operation, which was in fact performed by Dr. Hayward.

Another surgical operation was performed at the Bromfield House on the 21st of November, the ether again administered by Dr. Morton. Dr. Jackson was then present for the first time on invitation, but merely as a spectator. On the 2d of January, 1847, an operation was performed in the Hospital, when Dr. Jackson attended, and brought with him a bag of oxygen gas to relieve the patient from asphyxia, in case it should supervene. Nothing of the kind occurred, and the gas was not used. This is the first and only act of Dr. Jackson's made known to your Committee which implied that he had any duty to perform in the administration of the ether, or that he rested under any responsibility as to its effects.

The testimony of Don P. Wilson and J. E. Hunt, who were assistants in Dr. Morton's shop for a few months, commencing in November, 1846, is adduced to impeach

the evidence of Leavitt, Spear, and Hayden, by *their* alleged declarations, and the title of Dr. Morton to the discovery, by his declarations. This is a species of testimony against which the books on evidence especially put us on our guard. It is a sweeping kind of evidence which covers every thing; and, if the imputed conversation be *private*, or if it be general (as he often said, or always said), it is often difficult to subject the evidence to the ordinary tests of surrounding circumstances and inherent probability, so as to fix its value. There is enough, however, in these depositions to show that they are of but little weight. It is to be remembered, in the first place, that they are in direct contradiction to the testimony of Whitman, Spear, Leavitt, and Hayden; and they contradict by strong implication the testimony of Mr. Metcalf and Mr. Wightman, the character of all and each of whom is most satisfactorily vouched. The testimony of these two witnesses cannot be true, unless the four first above named entered into a conspiracy to carry a point by perjury; but, as to them, we have examined their evidence—we have tested it by its agreement with surrounding circumstances, and we are satisfied of its truth.

This, of itself, would be enough to dispose of the testimony of Wilson and Hunt; but it is proper to look at the inherent character of their evidence.

Wilson, in the commencement of his deposition, *swears*, by way of recital, that Dr. Charles T. Jackson was the discoverer of the application of ether to produce insensibility to pain in surgical operations; and, among other things, he says, "*Morton first claimed the discovery to be his own*" in February, 1847. To say nothing of the looseness and total want of caution with which the fact of the discovery is stated,—a fact of which Mr. Wilson certainly had no knowledge whatever,—he testifies directly against the recorded fact in the second particular; for Dr. Morton did

claim the discovery as early as September 30, 1846, and his claim was given to the world the next day in the public prints. *His* claim, and *his* alone, was known to the surgeons of the Hospital during the month of October; and his public circulars, and the numerous answers to them, which he has exhibited to the Committee, show that during all that time, and at all times, he claimed the discovery publicly and to the world as his own. The witness goes on to say: "In the administration of ether, I was guided by and solely relied upon the advice and assurances of Dr. Jackson, received through Morton. *We never dared to follow Morton's own directions*"—and adds that, if they had, the consequences would probably have been fatal, and etherization a failure. And further, that he never knew Morton "*to apply it to a patient in the office.* This was from a most apparent fear and shunning of responsibility."

Now, as to the advice and assurances of Dr. Jackson, alleged to have been received from time to time through Dr. Morton, we have no reason to suppose that any such repeated intercourse and communication took place during that time, and we have no evidence of the actual fact of any such meeting and instructions. On the contrary, there is evidence of unkind feelings existing on Dr. Jackson's part towards Dr. Morton; and, in the opinion of your Committee, the testimony of Dr. Keep *indirectly* contradicts the testimony of Wilson on that point, and *directly* upon each of the other points last named. Dr. Keep's object and the tendency of his evidence is to depreciate Dr. Morton, but for faults the very reverse of those with which he is charged by Wilson, namely, a "*rash recklessness,*" instead of "*a most manifest fear of responsibility,*" in administering the ether; and he evidently is impressed with the belief, and designs to let it be known, that the success of etherization depended upon his skill and prudence. He says, "*It was his (Morton's)*

practice during that time to administer the ether, without any adequate provision for the admission of atmospheric air; *and, whenever operations were performed by other persons in the office* and under his supervision, he directed the application in the same way, in consequence of which many of the operations were unsuccessful, and great distress and suffering were induced. Dr. Keep then states that he made ample provision for the admission of atmospheric air, and advised the assistants to do the same thing; "but they, being influenced by his (Morton's) directions and known wishes, did not at all times follow my advice." Not a word is said by Dr. Keep of any advice or directions coming from Dr. Jackson, which, if it had actually occurred, must have been known to him, and would have formed an important item in the current incidents of the time. The evidence of these two witnesses stands thus. They were in the office of Dr. Morton, during the same "thirty days," — Keep, the superior; Wilson, the assistant. Keep says Dr. Morton was in the habit of administering the ether in a particular manner, and that he was *rash* and *reckless*. Wilson says he never administered it at all, and that he was *timid* and shrank from responsibility. But the surgeons of the Hospital agree with neither one nor the other, but show that he repeatedly administered it in the Hospital *himself*, to their entire satisfaction and with entire success. Wilson says the assistants in the office would not follow the directions of Dr. Morton, but relied upon such as were brought from Dr. Jackson. Keep says nothing about instructions from Dr. Jackson, but that the assistants in the office were influenced by the directions and known wishes of Dr. Morton, so that his salutary advice and remonstrances were often of no avail. Wilson says Dr. Morton explained to him, an assistant in his office, very fully all the particulars of the discovery and patent; but to Dr. Keep, his partner, he extended no such confidence.

We leave these two depositions to be viewed in their strong contrast; and as to the testimony of Don P. Wilson, considering its inherent improbability, the suspicious nature of the species of testimony to which it belongs, the manner in which it is contradicted directly and indirectly by the evidence of Dr. Keep; and when we further consider that it is directly opposed to the evidence of Whitman, Spear, Leavitt, and Dr. Hayden, and indirectly to that of Metcalf and Wightman; and that it is also in direct conflict with numerous public printed cards and notices of the day,—we feel that we cannot give it the slightest weight or consideration.

The testimony of John E. Hunt is subject to the same objections with that of Don P. Wilson, and other objections which your Committee will now proceed to notice. In order to bring out a declaration on the part of Spear, that he had never taken the ether, he represents him as taking it one evening, and, in the excitement produced by it, seizing upon a countryman present, and handling him roughly. The apology which Spear makes to the countryman is, “*this was the first time he had ever taken the ether;*” not that it was the first time that ether so affected him, or that the rudeness was committed under the influence of ether, but that it was the first time he had ever taken ether,—a fact which had little to do with the act of rudeness, and was a most irrelevant apology. But the inquiry thereupon made by Hunt is most remarkably inconsequent: he, having heard Spear say that it was the first time he had ever taken ether, asks him if it “ever affected him in the same way before.” Now, if he had been pressing Spear with a cross-examination, in order to entrap him in some important admission, the inquiry might perhaps have been made; but it was *then* a matter of no importance whatever whether Spear had breathed the vapor of ether or not, and

it becomes in the highest degree improbable that both branches of the conversation, so inconsistent with each other, actually occurred; and as the statement contradicts the testimony of so many respectable witnesses, and is in itself improbable, your Committee do not feel bound to give it credence. Again: in a walk with Spear, Hunt gets from him a full disclosure of the discovery, and a statement that it belonged to Dr. Jackson. According to this, Dr. Morton got the requisite information and instructions from Dr. Jackson; came home; *tried it on a woman, and it worked first-rate*; and he had since then continued to use it under the directions of Dr. Jackson. The evidence shows that Spear well knew that the *experiment* was not tried on a *woman*, but on a *man*, whose certificate was read next day by hundreds in the city of Boston. But the witness evidently took this part of his story from the narrative of Don P. Wilson (whose deposition was taken on the same day) about the refractory female patient named in the conversation with Dr. Jackson on the 30th of September, who was to be cheated with atmospheric air, administered from a gas-bag.

From among the thousands with whom Dr. Morton communicated, touching this discovery, during the winter of 1846 and '47, some six or seven, with whom he had personal controversies, testify to his admissions that he was not the discoverer. They differ as to the degrees of directness and fulness with which he opened the matter to them; but it will be found, as your Committee believe, to be a rule in this case, having no exception, that the more violent the hostility of the individual; the more fiercely he assailed Dr. Morton's patent, the more free Morton became in his communication, and the more fully did he unbosom himself; and his statements always went directly to defeat his own claims, and support the defence of the opponent, to whom

he made it. For example, H. S. Payne says "that, in the early part of December, 1846, he commenced applying the vapor of ether to produce insensibility to pain in surgical operations. This was after I had heard of the discovery of the preparation by Charles T. Jackson, of the city of Boston." He then states that Dr. Clarke purchased of Dr. Morton a right, under the patent, for Rensselaer and several adjoining counties, who sold to Dr. Bordell, and Dr. Payne was notified by Dr. Blake, as the agent of Dr. Morton, to abandon the use of ether in his practice. After failing in an attempt at negotiation with Dr. Bordell, he went to Boston, and had an interview with Dr. Morton, who not once only, but repeatedly, declared that Dr. Jackson was the *sole discoverer*; "that all the knowledge he possessed in relation to its properties and application came from Dr. Jackson; and that he never had any idea of applying sulphuric ether, or that sulphuric ether could be applied, for the aforesaid purposes, until Dr. Jackson had suggested it to him, and had given him full instructions." This most frank communication raises at once a difficulty about the patent, which is obviously void if that statement be true; and Dr. Morton attempts to remove it by saying, "that he had been very fortunate in effecting an arrangement with Dr. Jackson before any one else had the opportunity, and that he was the first man to whom Dr. Jackson communicated the discovery." And he adds: "Dr. Morton *again and again* said that he was not in any way the *discoverer of the new application of ether*, but that the idea had been first communicated to him by Dr. Jackson, who was its discoverer, and that his (Dr. Morton's) interest in the patent was merely a purchased one; and, moreover, that he was very lucky in anticipating all other persons by first receiving so precious a discovery from the lips of Dr. Jackson."

After seeing the fulness and unreserved character of this

important conversation, and the apparent earnestness with which Dr. Morton attempts to impress the fact that he had no participation whatever in the discovery; not satisfied with suffering it to escape him inadvertently, or even stating it once, but repeating it "again" and "again," as if he were anxious to impress it,—one could not but be surprised to know that Dr. Payne, before this conversation, had *pirated* this discovery; had set up for himself; bade defiance to Dr. Morton and his assignees; and, on his return home, published a card, in which he by no means denies that Dr. Morton discovered the *thing* which he and his assignees are using, but averring that his (Dr. Payne's) *anodyne vapor*, which in his affidavit he admits to be sulphuric ether, "is not the invention of the great Dr. Morton, but an entirely superior article, and all persons must beware how they infringe on his rights." And the more especially is it surprising when we reflect that this state of facts, which Dr. Morton took such unusual pains to repeat and to impress upon this his most determined opponent, would, if true, render the patent wholly void in his hands, and put his discovery entirely in the power of Dr. Payne, and all others who should see fit to avail themselves of it. There can be no absolute proof that Dr. Morton did not make these statements; but it is clear that it was against his interest to make them; and there is also full proof that they are not true, and that they are in direct opposition to his numerous printed and published statements. They are not true; for, besides the six witnesses who testify directly or indirectly to the discovery in its inception and progress, it distinctly conflicts with the conversation of the parties, and their mutual understanding on the 26th and 27th of October, as testified to by R. H. Eddy. It is in direct conflict with the claim promulgated by Dr. Morton, and received and accredited by the scientific gentlemen in the Medical Hospital,

who performed the operations testing the efficacy of the discovery.

Dr. Warren says :

“ Boston, Jan. 6, 1847.

“ I hereby declare and certify, to the best of my knowledge and recollection, that I never heard of the use of sulphuric ether by inhalation, as a means of preventing the pains of surgical operations, until it was suggested by *Dr. W. T. G. Morton*, in the latter part of October, 1846.”

And alike opposed to all the numerous printed circulars which Mr. Morton and his agents had distributed and were then distributing in every part of the United States. It appears that, prior to this date, Dr. Morton's attention had been called to an opposing claim to the discovery, and to the experiments at the Hospital, and he had taken a decided public stand against them, as witness his circular, published the 20th day of November, 1846, and the note thereto attached :

“ DENTAL OPERATIONS WITHOUT PAIN.

“ *Dr. Morton has made a great improvement in dental and surgical operations*, for which letters patent have been granted by the Government of the United States, and to secure which measures have been taken in foreign nations.

“ Having completed the necessary preparations for the purpose, and greatly enlarged his establishment, Dr. Morton respectfully announces to his friends and the public that he is now ready to afford every accommodation to persons requiring dental operations.

“ His assistants and apartments are so numerous, and his entire arrangements on so superior a scale, that immediate and the best attention can be given to every case, and in every branch of his profession.

“ The success of this improvement has exceeded the most sanguine expectations, not only of himself and patients, but of the very skilful and distinguished surgeons who have performed operations with it at the Massachusetts General Hospital and other places in Boston, or witnessed its use at his office. Rooms, No. 19, Tremont Row.

“ Boston, Nov. 20, 1846.

“ * * * Inasmuch as one or two persons have presumed to advertise my

improvement *as their own*, and even issued notices to the effect that the applications of it at the Hospital were made *by them*, and that the certificates of its efficacy and value were given *to them* by the SURGEONS OF THAT INSTITUTION, I feel it my duty to warn the public against such false and unwarrantable statements; and at the same time to caution all persons against making, aiding, or abetting in any infringement of my rights, if they would avoid the trouble and cost of prosecutions and damages at law."

And your Committee do not think it credible that Dr. Morton, resting his claims to the discovery on the grounds which he did,—having a most decided public opinion at home in his favor as the discoverer,—having freshly tasted of the intoxicating draught of fame, and recently, in the public papers and in circulars, asserted his authorship of the discovery and defied his rivals,—they do not think it credible that he should seize the first occasion which offered, in conversation with a most determined opponent, to declare the falsehood of all that he had written, published, and claimed; to disclaim the honor which the world so generally and freely accorded him; confess away all his pecuniary rights under the patent; and even support his surrender, disclaimer, and sacrifice, by a self-debasing assertion which he well knew was false. The improbability is too strong to allow it credit.

But Dr. Payne says, that, in the early part of December, 1846, he commenced his operations with sulphuric ether; and that this was after he had heard of the discovery of Dr. Charles T. Jackson, of Boston. How he heard of the discovery of Dr. Jackson, he does not say; surely not by the information of the scientific men of Boston, for they attributed the discovery to Dr. Morton; not by the public prints, cards, and advertisement, for the name of Dr. Morton alone appeared there; and he says, in conclusion, that *he was very much astonished* in learning, some time after his visit to Boston, that Dr. Morton "asserted any claim whatever" to

the discovery ; and this after the publication and circulation of the notices, cards, and circulars of Dr. Morton, and after the witness had long been engaged in an embittered contest with Morton and his assignees, and the publication of his (Dr. Payne's) card.

Dr. Allen Clarke—who also testifies to admissions by Dr. Morton, but much less strongly than Dr. Payne, and whose statement may well be the result of a misunderstanding, made the more decided by hostility to Dr. Morton, and a desire to defeat his patent—was the purchaser of a right, for which he gave his note for \$3,350. He at length determined not to pay the note, but to join in contesting the patent ; and he expresses the opinion, that, by keeping up the controversy for one year, the patent would be broken down. Dr. Blaisdell says : “ Clarke would not pay you ; for he could get the use of the letheon for one year, before you could get the license from them, and by that time they could ruin the sale of it there,” and he might well have added, and with it the discoverer ; a very common fortune to men who render the most important services to their race.

Time, and the reasonable limits of a report, will not allow your Committee to dwell upon the few remaining items of kindred testimony. The weight and strength of them have been considered ; and the residue, like them, are composed of alleged statements by Dr. Morton to persons with whom he then had or has since had personal controversies touching his discovery, and they are all in contradiction to the claims which Dr. Morton daily promulgated in print to the world. Those printed papers are, as your Committee conceive, the best evidence of what Dr. Morton all that time claimed, and what he conceded ; they are of the time and of the transaction ; they do not admit of misstatement, misconstruction, or falsification ; they are of unvarying

and exact memory; and they speak the language of undoubted truth as to the claims, though not as to the rights, of the author. His claims, contemporaneous with these papers, are what these witnesses attack. His *rights* we have already considered; and, as to the evidence of his *claims*, that which he insisted and said was his, the published papers stand against the testimony of these witnesses, as written or printed evidence against parol. His alleged confessions, made under the most improbable circumstances, are in direct contradiction to his printed circulars, daily and contemporaneously promulgated to the world. If, then, these alleged parol admissions stood against the printed and published papers, without any thing beside to add strength to either, we could not, in our conscience, in weighing the conduct of men by rational probabilities, hesitate to give the decided preponderance to the printed over the parol evidence. But the parol evidence runs counter to all the leading facts in the case heretofore considered and established, in the opinion of your Committee, by the most indubitable proof; while the printed circulars and notices entirely agree with them, and make with them one uniform and consistent whole. The objects of the parties, their claims, their efforts, their purposes, are the same throughout. The deposition of A. Blaisdell, is, however, worthy of especial comment. At the time he professes to have had the conversation in which Dr. Morton accords all the merit of the discovery to Dr. Jackson, he was the agent of Dr. Morton, spreading his circulars throughout the land; had taken care to send one of them to each and every surgeon-dentist in New York; and yet now declares that he was especially charged with the information which he takes care to inculcate, that these circulars were all false in the most material point, and that the patent which he is selling is void by reason of that falsehood. He was, at the same

time, in habits of almost daily correspondence with Dr. Morton; and the difficulties which he met with occurred while he was absent, and it would most naturally have suggested itself to him to communicate them to Dr. Morton by letter, and in that way get his assent to obviate them by declaring Dr. Jackson the *sole discoverer*. But he does not do so: if he had, his letter and Dr. Morton's answer would have been in writing; and then, if there were truth in the statement of those alleged admissions, there would have been one item of written evidence to support them. But this is wholly wanting. Blaisdell professes to have waited till his return to Boston, and then to have held a private conversation with Dr. Morton, who at once and eagerly admitted away his *whole claim*, both to money and reputation.

It is remarkable that, in more than three months, during all which time these witnesses say Dr. Morton conceded to Dr. Jackson the merit of being the "sole discoverer," and during all which time he was daily writing and almost daily publishing, there is not produced one line written by Dr. Morton, or written to him, countenancing the idea; nor is there one act of his which looks to such admission. A written admission or an ambiguous paragraph in writing, which could be fairly construed into an admission, or a letter written *to him* during that time, which could be reasonably construed to refer to such admission, would be tenfold the value of all the parol testimony now presented of those admissions. Dr. Morton has shown to the Committee several bound volumes of letters addressed to him upon this subject, all of which recognize him as the discoverer. Viewing these statements in this point of light; comparing them with the printed and published papers, in which Dr. Morton contemporaneously and continually asserted his claims to the discovery; and finding them opposed, as they

are to the well-settled facts of the case already considered, — they weigh, in our opinion, as dust in the balance, and in nowise affect the well-settled facts of the case.

Considering the case presented on its own merits, and independent of any authority whatever, your Committee has come to the same conclusion that was arrived at by the Board of Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, at their annual meeting in January, 1848, and subsequently confirmed in 1849; and they cannot better state the propositions, which they consider established, than by adopting to this extent the language of the report of that institution. It is as follows: “1st, Dr. Jackson does not appear at any time to have made any discovery, in regard to ether, which was not in print in Great Britain some years before. 2d, Dr. Morton, in 1846, discovered the facts, before unknown, that ether would prevent the pain of surgical operations, and that it might be given in sufficient quantity to effect this purpose without danger to life. He first established these facts by numerous operations on teeth, and afterwards induced the surgeons of the Hospital to demonstrate its general applicability and importance in capital operations. 3d, Dr. Jackson appears to have had the belief, that a power in ether to prevent pain in dental operations would be discovered. He advised various persons to attempt the discovery: but neither they nor he took any measures to that end; and the world remained in entire ignorance of both the power and safety of ether, until Dr. Morton made his experiments. 4th, The whole agency of Dr. Jackson in the matter appears to consist only in his having made certain suggestions, which led or aided Dr. Morton to make the discovery, — a discovery which had for some time been the object of his labors and researches.”

And although your Committee have deduced their conclusion from the evidence, without resting on opinion or

authority, they are greatly strengthened by the concurrence of that highly intelligent and scientific body of men who examined the subject on the spot, while the transaction was yet recent, and who were acquainted with the conduct of the parties during the progress of the discovery, and with the character of the witnesses. This conclusion being reached as to the exact state of fact, your Committee are satisfied thereon that Dr. Morton is entitled to the merit of the discovery. *The great thought was of producing insensibility to pain; and the discovery consisted in that thought, and in verifying it practically by experiment.* For this the world is indebted to Dr. Morton; and even if the same thought in all its distinctness and extent arose also in the mind of Dr. Jackson, at or prior to that time, yet he did not carry it out by experiment, and thus give it to the world; and on that supposition it was the case of an important thought occupying two minds at the same time, one only of whom brought it out by experiment, and is therefore the discoverer. It was clear that the discovery was destined soon to be given to the world. Science had almost reached it; but a single step, and it was compassed; and it happened in this case as in many others, that the necessities of the profession, a want deeply felt in the daily business of life, rather than scientific induction, at last produced the consummation.

That it is a discovery we cannot doubt; that it is an advance beyond the heretofore known walks of science, we know; and scientific men of all civilized nations, even to the extremities of the earth, acknowledge and proclaim it.

As to the question whether a sum of money shall be appropriated by Congress as a reward for this discovery, your Committee beg leave to refer that subject to the consideration of this House. Numerous cases, however, have occurred, to which your Committee beg leave to refer, in

which compensation in money has been made by Congress as a reward for like discoveries of less importance to the country and mankind. . . .

This discovery is the long-sought desideratum of surgeons. His sinking heart, when witnessing the writhings and agonies of his patients, has looked to this as a consummation devoutly to be desired. Various narcotics have been employed. Mesmerism, and its kindred neurology, were tendered as this great boon; but they have passed, and with them the expectations of the profession, and the promises of their discoverers. Dr. J. C. Warren, page 3, in his work on Etherization, says, "A new era has opened on the operating surgeon. His visitations on the most delicate parts are performed, not only without the agonizing screams he has been accustomed to hear, but sometimes with a state of perfect insensibility, and occasionally even with the expression of pleasure on the part of the patient. Who could have imagined that drawing a knife over the delicate skin of the face might produce a sensation of unmixed delight?—that the turning and twisting of instruments in the most sensitive bladder might be accompanied by a beautiful dream?—that the contorting of ankylosed joints should co-exist with a celestial vision? If Ambrose Paré and Louis and Dessault and Cheshelden and Hunter and Cooper could see what our eyes daily witness, how would they long to come among us, and perform their exploits once more! And with what fresh vigor does the living surgeon, who is ready to resign the scalpel, grasp it, and wish again to go through his career under the new auspices!"

We quote also from the same: "In order to form a proper estimate of the value of the new practice, we should endeavor to realize the mental condition which precedes a surgical operation. As soon as a patient is condemned to the knife, what terrors does his imagination inflict! How

many sleepless nights, and horrible dreams, and sinkings of the heart, does he experience! What apprehensions of dangerous bleedings, of wounds of vital parts, and even of sudden death, does he paint to himself! And when to these is added the dread of insupportable pain, what a frightful picture presents itself to the mind! No wonder that many persons are unable to bring themselves to submit; no wonder that some, wrought to desperation, are led to anticipate their sufferings by a voluntary death. Horror of the knife led a gentleman in this city, afflicted with a stone in the bladder, to commit suicide. When the terror of corporeal suffering is taken from this load of apprehension, the patient may indulge a hope which leads him cheerfully to uncertain dangers."

In reply to communications addressed to the Surgeon-General of the Army, and Chief of the Medical Department of the Navy, we learn that chloroform and ether are used in both these departments, and that they constitute in part the supplies for the service, and have been used during the recent war with Mexico. This would, in justice, entitle the memorialist to compensation, as the laws of the United States guaranty to him all benefits in its use by all persons. Had we not already exceeded the usual limits of a report, we would gladly introduce numerous testimonials of the advantageous use of anæsthetic agents in various diseases, besides those subject to surgery. And we deem the subjoined tables, showing its introduction into the hospitals of the United States, will give a general idea of the usefulness of the discovery, and its general applicability to disease. They are taken from the Transactions of the American Medical Association, assembled in Baltimore in May, 1848. [The tables are here omitted.]

The effects of chloroform and ether are similar; each has its advocates; yet your Committee are assured, that,

amongst the hundreds of thousands of cases of various diseases in which ether has been used, no case has terminated fatally, in which any injurious effect could be traced to ether. We cannot assert the same for chloroform. The effects of ether are more readily controlled, and its strength is supposed to be but one-tenth that of chloroform.

As citizens of the United States, we feel we have just cause of pride, that this discovery, the most important in science, had its origin on our shores; and that its general adoption by the European world, numerous admissions of the discovery here and its usefulness, are alike honorable to the recipients of its favors and the discoverer. Professor Simpson, the discoverer of chloroform, in transmitting to Dr. Morton a copy of a pamphlet, entitled "Account of a New Anæsthetic Agent, as a Substitute for Sulphuric Ether in Surgery and Midwifery," writes the following note. [This note is copied into pp. 242, 243.]

We close our communication with an extract from the work on Etherization by Dr. J. C. Warren, a name confessedly among the first in the United States in the department of medicine and surgery : —

"This discovery certainly merits a notice from the American Legislature, since it may take rank perhaps of all the great improvements which adorn the present age of surgery. The establishment of union by the first intention, the safe ligature of the great arteries, the substitution of lithotrity for lithotomy, the rejection of pernicious ointments and plasters in the management of wounds, the constitutional treatment of local diseases, and the free external use of cold water, mark the present as the golden period of surgical science.

"The introduction of ether, enabling us to perform operations and apply remedies without pain, crowns all these improvements.

"While we would pay a willing and liberal tribute to the individual who has been made the instrument of this discovery, we should look higher for its author, and elevate our fervent attributions of praise and thanksgiving to Him who has been pleased, from the rich treasures of his goodness, to confer so wonderful a gift on our generation."

The subjoined resolutions were ordered to be appended to the report.

Dr. Lord offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:—

“Resolved, That, the Committee having refused to recommend any remuneration to be given to the contestants of the ether-discovery, the report of the Committee be made in conformity to the above decision.

“Resolved, That, believing the report of the chairman does fairly express the opinions of the Committee, and the real views as embodied in the resolutions of Dr. Fries, herewith published, it is hereby adopted as the report of the Committee.”

Dr. Fries offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:—

“Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Committee, to Dr. C. T. Jackson is due the credit of having suggested to Dr. W. T. G. Morton that pure sulphuric ether might be inhaled with safety, and that the effect of such inhalation is to produce insensibility; but that, in expressing this opinion, the Committee do not wish to convey the idea that Dr. Morton had not previously experimented with this important agent, but refer to the strong proof herewith published, for the evidence that he had thus experimented.

“Resolved, That to Dr. W. T. G. Morton is due the credit of having made the first practical application of sulphuric ether as an anæsthetic agent, and demonstrating to the world its power to destroy nervous sensibility to such an extent as to enable surgeons to perform all the various surgical operations upon the human body without pain.”

[And two other resolutions, which relate only to not having kept a journal of proceedings.]

NOTE. — During the preparation of this report, there was forwarded to the Committee the affidavit of Henry C. Lord, one of the counsel for Dr. Jackson, and also the affidavit of George H. Palmer, and one by Dr. Jackson himself, from which it appears that Mr. Lord, the counsel, called upon Thomas R. Spear,—induced Spear to visit him at his chamber, and held a conversation with him; and that his

effort in that conversation was to get some admission from Spear, that his testimony, given under oath in the case, was untrue. Lord and Palmer say that he did so admit. The witness Spear, who was afterwards called upon, testifies that he *did not*, and states facts which show an effort to entrap him in a mode not usually practised by the legal profession in the United States. Your Committee give no weight to the alleged statements, considering the manner in which they were procured, even as stated by Mr. Lord himself. There was a like attempt to get a contradictory statement from Leavitt, similar in its character with that made with Spear, but more strongly marked by professional irregularity. These depositions in no respect modified the opinion of your Committee as to the facts given in question, and only present another most striking example of the caution with which testimony of the declarations of parties and witnesses should be received unsupported, and especially when contradicted by written papers.

There was also forwarded to us the deposition of N. C. Keep, which is in the following words :—

“COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, *Suffolk, ss.*

“I, N. C. Keep, M.D., of Boston, in the County of Suffolk, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, dental surgeon, being called upon by the Hon. Thomas O. Edwards, Chairman of a Committee at Washington, on patenting compound medicines, to give my testimony in the matter in hearing concerning the claims of Dr. W. T. G. Morton as the discoverer of etherization, depose as follows :—

“I became associated in the business and practice of dentistry with Dr. Morton on the twenty-eighth day of November, in the year 1846. On the next day, we were about to prepare an advertisement for publication, when Dr. Augustus A. Gould called at our rooms. Being pressed with business, I requested him to write the advertisement; with which request he complied. After he had written it, which he did at his own house, he brought it to me, and we read it together. In it the discovery of etherization, without any suggestion having been made by me to that effect, was

ascribed in explicit terms to Dr. Charles T. Jackson. Dr. Gould, pointing with his finger to the words in which this ascription was expressed, said to me, 'That will please Jackson.' I then showed the advertisement to Dr. Morton, and we read it together. He then exclaimed, with emphasis, 'That is good; I like that. I'll take it to the printer.' Copies of the advertisement were made under the direction of Dr. Morton, and, as I supposed at the time, without alteration, and published by his order in three evening newspapers. On seeing the advertisement in the 'Evening Traveller' on the evening of the same day, I was greatly surprised to find that the words which ascribed the ether-discovery to Dr. Jackson had been struck out. The next morning I called the attention of Dr. Morton to the fact, and asked him why he struck out those words. He hesitated, and seemed not to know what to say, when I said to him, 'Morton, why do you quarrel with Jackson? You injure yourself, and injure the cause.' His reply was, 'I would'nt if he would behave himself. The credit of the discovery belongs to Dr. Jackson; Jackson shall have the credit of it; I want to make money out of it.'

"I stated the foregoing facts to my family on the aforesaid evening, and afterwards to other individuals. I have heretofore declined voluntarily testifying to them, but consider that I have no right, upon a call of such a nature as is now made upon me, to withhold this testimony.

"N. C. KEEP."

"Boston, Feb. 8, 1849."

When this deposition was received, the Chairman of your Committee showed it to Dr. Morton, who in a few minutes brought to him a bound book entitled "Miscellaneous Notes." On the 91st page was a manuscript in the handwriting of Dr. A. A. Gould, written evidently on the outside sheet of a letter addressed to Dr. A. A., and post-marked "Washington City, D.C., July 9," from all which it was most manifest that this was the original draft of the advertisement testified to by Dr. Keep. This paper, contrasted with the evidence of Dr. Keep as the contents of an original draft, fixes in the minds of your Committee the just value of this species of evidence. This paper is as follows:—

"The subscribers, having associated themselves in the business of dental surgery, would respectfully invite their friends to call on them at

their rooms, No. 19, Tremont Row. They confidently believe that the increased facilities which their united experience will afford them of performing operations with elegance and despatch, and the additional advantage of having them performed without pain, by the use of the fluid recently invented by Drs. Jackson and *Morton*, will not only meet the wishes of their former patients, but secure to them additional patronage."

V. THE CASKET AND THE RIBBON, OR THE HONORS OF ETHER.

In this review, the writer, after alluding to the importance of the ether-discovery, and the bitterness of the controversy to which it had given rise, proceeds thus:—

That controversy is now substantially ended. The masterly Report of the Committee of Congress, presented by the Hon. Thos. O. Edwards, M.D.,—its clear and simple statements of the question at issue,—its searching analysis of the evidence,—its striking illustrations,—its conclusive and logical deductions, have, as we believe, convinced all, except those few partisans of Dr. Jackson who, from personal friendship, professional bias, or the natural reluctance to abandon an early and cherished opinion, still adhere to his cause with unwavering fidelity. Without any parade of learning or scientific research, this document sets forth certain acts of the parties, and then, by the plainest and most cogent arguments, irresistibly leads the reader to infer the motives and views of the actors. Without any severity of language, it quietly sets aside the false pretences which came under its notice. Thus Dr. Jackson claims that he

made his discovery in 1842. If, however, he had the least realizing sense of this great truth (it is argued), then he must have known that immortal honor awaited its disclosure. He hears around him the cries of suffering,—he is admitted to be an eager aspirant for fame,—and no one doubts his kindly disposition. But he remains torpid for four years, deaf alike to the call of ambition, and even to the dictates of common humanity. The unavoidable inference is, that he could not have had any strong, clear convictions in the case. We accede, therefore, at once, to the conclusion, that he merely had arrived at an induction or hypothesis on the subject which he thought of little or no value (probably as tending only to a slight improvement in *dental* surgery), and thus entirely omitted to take any step to verify it.

Again, Dr. Jackson claims, that at last Dr. Morton performed his experiments as *his* agent,—being the mere “nurse who administered *his* prescription.” This claim likewise is shown to be surrounded by insuperable difficulties. Dr. Jackson, in an interview, *not sought by himself*, makes a mere casual suggestion to Dr. Morton, one whom he represents as grossly ignorant and reckless, to whom he refuses to give a written certificate of the safety of the application, and from whom he thenceforward holds himself wholly aloof. He is not present at the early experiments. He publicly denounces Dr. Morton as likely to kill somebody yet before he is done; expressing, in the strongest manner, his regret that he had ever given him any information on the subject, &c.

Now, the inference of the Committee seems absolutely unavoidable, that Dr. Jackson—knowing, as he must have done, the importance of these first, test experiments; what science, skill, and caution were necessary for their safety and success—could not have selected as his agent such a man

as his own witnesses represent Dr. Morton to be; and that, having selected him, he could not thus have conducted himself throughout the series of these experiments.

Indeed, the deliberate claim by Dr. Jackson, that these experiments were *his*, performed by *his* agent, and in *his* behalf, seems to us the act of a man, who, shunning all responsibility during the period of danger and uncertainty, seeks at last to snatch away the prize which had been fairly won by the labors and services of another.

The legal acumen shown by the Committee is remarkable: it would do high honor to the most eminent practitioner. The fact that Dr. Morton's ignorance (as manifested at his interview with Dr. Jackson) was assumed, seems certain, from his having previously learned from Mr. Metcalf the general properties of ether. The Committee, however, discover one circumstance, in confirmation of this position, which had before been wholly unnoticed, viz., that Dr. Jackson directed ether to be *spattered on a handkerchief*; thus really telling *that it was a liquid*,—so that when Dr. Morton, in reply, asked *if it were a gas*, he must have been concealing what he knew.

The comparison of the testimony of Barnes and M'Intyre is also most able and satisfactory. Dr. Keep and Don Pedro Wilson are placed in an interesting contrast—without a word, however, charging either with intentional falsehood; and Dr. Keep's affidavit, that a certain paper contained a certain statement in favor of Dr. Jackson, is amusingly nullified by the production of the paper itself, containing nothing of the sort.

This report is brief, pertinent, searching, decisive, encumbered with no array of documents, and no irrelevant opinions or certificates. It adopts the four propositions contained in the Report of the Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital. It closes with a stricture upon the "*professional*

irregularity" of which one of the Messrs. Lord, the attorneys of Dr. Jackson, had been guilty.

We repeat, that we consider that this document has brought to an untimely end the claim of Dr. Jackson as the discoverer and first applier of etherization.

A Minority Report was subsequently presented by two members of the Committee of Congress, which is certainly a more plausible statement in Dr. Jackson's behalf than had before appeared. It does not, however, as we conceive, disprove or even weaken the conclusions of the prior Report, from which it dissents. It sets forth what no one has ever denied,—that Dr. Jackson communicated to Dr. Morton *an induction* which he had made, viz., that ether could be used with safety and effect during a dental operation.

The Committee next proceed with a long array of opinions of different individuals as to Dr. Jackson's merit of having made this suggestion. President Everett and other remonstrants (among whom, we regret to learn, are to be found many of the Boston dentists) give all the credit to Jackson.

After criticizing the remarks contained in the Minority Report, respecting letters of Hon. Franklin Dexter, Drs. Walter Channing, Luther V. Bell, J. B. S. Jackson, John D. Fisher, and Mr. Bowen, the editor of the "North American Review," which were all in favor of Dr. Jackson, the writer proceeds:—

A letter from Mr. Prescott, the historian, with more discrimination, awards to him the suggestion; but to Dr. Morton "*a share, and no mean one,*" in the discovery; viz., its verification. A letter from Charles G. Loring, Esq., one of Dr. Jackson's counsel, of course, takes the side of his

client. It is not an uncommon circumstance for gentlemen of the legal profession to think favorably of their own cases, —to regard their own geese as swans.

Having duly paraded these letters in behalf of Dr. Jackson, the Committee next proceed to introduce others highly complimentary to Dr. Morton; which, however (as they would make it appear), refer merely to his meritorious services “in demonstrating the practical value of the discovery, and in contributing, perhaps (!) more than any other person, towards its introduction into general use.” It is certainly evidence of great ingenuity on the part of the Committee, in this manner, to qualify and fritter away the most absolute and unequivocal recognitions of Dr. Morton’s claims. Dr. Jackson can never despair, if his friends can find any ground for his pretensions left in such a letter as the following from Dr. John Jeffries, of Boston, to Mr. Speaker Winthrop:—

“Boston, January 10, 1849. Dear Sir,—Mr. Morton, who visits Washington to seek some remuneration from Government for the benefit which he has conferred on the country by the introduction of sulphuric ether, requests me to express to you my opinion; which I do most unreservedly, —that the world is indebted *entirely* to Mr. Morton for the introduction of this agent to produce insensibility to pain, and that it is a physical blessing not second to any that has been conferred upon suffering humanity,” &c.

The Committee dispose of similar letters from his Excellency Gov. Briggs and Ex-Gov. Morton, of Massachusetts, and Hon. John P. Bigelow, Mayor of Boston, by suggesting, that, as the writers used general terms, they probably rely more upon information from others than upon any investigation of their own. The whole of these opinions, *pro* and *con*, have nothing to do with the subject. They *change* no *fact*, and they *prove* no *fact* in the case.

After some dozen pages of the Report have been thus

occupied, the Committee next proceed to comment upon the character and competency of the Board of Trustees of the Hospital. It is announced as a fact, that there are few or no legal or scientific men among the members of that Board; and they courteously suggest that the Trustees have shown partiality towards Dr. Morton, caused, doubtless, by a *thirst for distinction*, and a wish to identify their institution with the discovery, by ascribing the chief merit to its verification.

Now three, at least, of that Board are on the list of counsellors at law in Boston; and the Chairman of the Committee for drafting the Report has for twenty years been extensively engaged in a branch of that profession. Three or more are members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; one of them (Mr. J. A. Lowell) being, by his position as sole Trustee of the Lowell Institute in Boston, brought more intimately into contact with scientific men and matters than almost any one in that community. He is one of the Corporation of Harvard College; and three-quarters of the Board are graduates of that institution. It is needless to add, that a more fair, intelligent, or competent jury was probably never impanelled to try an issue. It is the duty of this Board annually to lay before the Corporation a statement of the affairs of the Hospital during the past year. What should have been done on this occasion? The greatest public service ever rendered by the institution has been performed: shall it be passed over unmentioned? Certainly not. Shall the mere naked fact be stated, that these experiments were performed at the request of Dr. Morton, and all mention even of Dr. Jackson's name be omitted? This would have been the simplest, perhaps the wisest, course. But would it have been any more satisfactory to Dr. Jackson and his friends? The course actually taken was, no doubt, that by which the Committee consci-

entiously endeavored to do full and equal justice both to "the Dentist Morton," whom they had never seen, and to Dr. Jackson, their old acquaintance and friend. So obvious was this wish on their part, that the chief medical review of the country (Hays's), for that very reason, reprinted the Report verbatim.

It is certainly difficult to imagine any possible bias or interest, on the part either of the institution or the Trustees, to the *prejudice* of Dr. Jackson. Personal regard — his position in society — his standing as a man of science — would all seem to give him great advantages over his opponent. Dr. Jackson, indeed, very modestly suggested to the Committee of the Hospital, that a partiality was felt towards Dr. Morton, under the idea, that, if the claims of one so ignorant were eulogized, rather than his own, *the institution would thereby acquire a larger share of credit as accoucheurs of the discovery*. What possible bearing, however, can it have in the case, how Dr. Morton happened to be led to think of the subject? The operations were actually performed at *his* sole request, by surgeons who had never heard of Dr. Jackson's name in connection of the discovery. This is a "fixed fact." How is it altered or affected by the subsequent information, that Dr. Morton acted pursuant to a suggestion of Dr. Jackson? They had performed the operations on their own responsibility, unaided by a word of advice or caution from Dr. Jackson; and the credit of the "delivery," be it more or less, belongs to them, no matter who proves to be the father of the child.

To explain the position of the Massachusetts General Hospital, the Committee introduce two letters. The first is from Dr. W. J. Walker, an eminent surgeon, of Boston, or its vicinity, now retired from practice. It is believed that Dr. Jackson, at one time, had no great reason to rely on that gentleman's support, since we are informed that he has

heretofore expressed the opinion "that the whole thing was Wells's; that neither Morton nor Jackson had any claim to it."

The second letter is from L. M. Sargent, Esq., well known as author of the *Temperance Tales*. This epistle is the gem of the whole collection. Mr. Sargent is a ready, playful, and caustic writer; and none can fail to be amused with this production, which exhibits, in a strong light, all his peculiarities.

Letters from Dr. Jacob Bigelow and Dr. George Hayward, *fully indorsing the Hospital Report*, close this list. These gentlemen are disposed of by the remark, that they are probably the persons alluded to in Dr. Walker's letter. The former is President of the American Academy. The latter is the first surgeon who ever used ether in a capital operation, and has been for many years one of the surgeons of the Hospital in Boston.

Leaving all this prolonged and useless discussion, the Committee next proceed, in great detail, to show that Dr. Jackson, after having made this induction for four years, spoke of it to various persons in the most public and decided manner. They then declare, that, "*whether Morton had been before in pursuit of this object or not*, as he failed to find it till guided in the right way by a learned chemist, the judgment of mankind as to the chief merits of the discovery will be the same in either case." Why, then, it may be asked, did the Committee think it important to make an elaborate effort to prove that Dr. Morton *had in fact made no prior experiment*? And here it is worthy of notice, that there is not the slightest attempt made to reconcile those fatal discrepancies, or to obviate those stringent objections which had been set forth in the Majority Report, in its comments upon the witnesses in the case. Don Pedro Wilson and Dr. Keep here jog along together most harmo-

niously. The half-dozen personal enemies of Dr. Morton prove most satisfactorily, that he unbosomed himself to them by admissions fatal to his own claims, and entirely at variance with his course publicly pursued with everybody else, and on all other occasions; *and no attempt is made to explain this remarkable selection of confidants.** Mr. Metcalf, whose testimony (from his known intelligence and high standing) is of the greatest importance to Dr. Morton, and who is able to fix dates by the decisive circumstance of a voyage to Europe, is dismissed with the remark, that "his statement seems too vague to possess much weight, in view of so great a mass of conflicting testimony," and with some comments on the small size of the vial of ether which he saw in Dr. Morton's hands. Mr. Wightman's testimony (equally important and conclusive) the Committee endeavor to disparage, by intimating "that there is some extraordinary confusion in his dates;" carefully avoiding all allusion to those circumstances which render the *exact time* of his interview with Dr. Morton *absolutely* and *demonstratively* certain, by written as well as *internal* evidence of the most satisfactory character.

The Committee, in a former part of the Report, had introduced in italics, and quoted with great emphasis, the statement of a new deponent (Mr. Fowle), who goes all

* Our readers are already familiar with the provoking discrepancy between the actions of Dr. Jackson and his claim. He has set about with remarkable zeal to correct the great oversight; but we can only condole with him, while we point to the *lateness of the hour*. It is in vain that he appeals to the buried years of the past to rise, that he may stealthily write modern truths on their records ere they sink again: unheeding, they slumber on. It is in vain that he refers to the utterance of familiar facts in science: they were printed long ago. It is in vain that his friends point to his reputation and ability: we will admit it all, but it does not help his case; for his actions are in advance of every thing, and they condemn him. "His case is hopeless, who, having nothing to say for his conduct, at length appeals to his character: the mercy of the court alone can save him." — *Casket and Ribbon*.

lengths, and swears that Dr. Jackson told him in 1842, that by the use of ether "you can have a tooth extracted *or a limb cut off without pain.*" But it appears that Mr. Eddy, in 1846, had asked Dr. Jackson "whether he knew that the flesh of a person asleep from ether could be cut without pain;" to which the reply was, "No; nor Morton either; he is a reckless man," &c.; "the chance is he will kill somebody yet."

These two deponents (if their testimony had been brought together) would certainly seem to be somewhat at variance. The Committee resort to the adroit hypothesis, that Dr. Jackson merely meant, on the last occasion, to say that he did not *know* the fact, — not to intimate that he did not fully *believe* it. The words actually used, it must be confessed, were oddly selected, even for the purpose of expressing belief.

In general, it may be remarked that the tone of the whole document is unworthy of the Committee. It has not, in the least, a judicial character. It is an *argument for Dr. Jackson*, exactly such as *his* attorneys would be likely to have submitted, and which we really think must have emanated from that source, and have been adopted by the Committee, without any revision or modification. It throughout exaggerates the merit of the one, and depreciates that of the other party. Thus, it is not intimated that Sir Humphrey Davy, half a century ago, suggested the same general idea of prevention of pain, in surgical operations, — using, however, another agent (nitrous oxide); that, more than thirty years ago, a case was published to the medical world, of a man having been rendered lethargic by the use of *ether mixed with atmospheric air*; the effects produced being declared to be strikingly similar to those of nitrous oxide, and *also highly dangerous*. Not one word is said of Dr. Wells; of his experiments, conducted by means

of the agent recommended by Davy; of Morton's knowledge of and participation in those experiments (prior to his purchase of sulphuric ether, sworn to by Metcalf),—not one word of all this. The reader is left, instead, to infer that, to Dr. Jackson, Morton was indebted for the whole idea or conception. To *him* is given the concentrated credit due to the united genius and labors of all who preceded him. "A great truth was hidden," say the Committee, "and by *him* was first revealed."

It is not intimated, that, during all those four years, Dr. Jackson had never tried a single experiment for the purpose of demonstrating the *safety* of the agent employed, although it was, *as he well knew*, supposed by the profession to be *extremely dangerous*. There is not the slightest mention of "the earnest or indefatigable labors of Dr. Morton" in bringing out this discovery, although we are told by one of the surgeons of the Hospital, "that he absolutely haunted them." On the other hand, not a word of comment is made on the preposterous claim of Dr. Jackson, that the *verification* of the discovery, no less than its *suggestion*, was wholly his.

There is not the slightest attempt to refute Dr. Edwards's demonstration upon this point. The minority, being unable to say any thing in favor of, and unwilling to say any thing against, Dr. Jackson, preserve, upon this branch of their inquiry, a discreet silence. *In other words, the whole Committee concur in according to Dr. Morton the first actual application of ether.* We believe, indeed, that the only rebuke administered to Dr. Jackson by the Committee is the very gentle one of not being quite justified in becoming a party to the patent, "in violation of the recognized obligation of medical brotherhood."

Upon this subject of the patent, the same disingenuous course seems to have been adopted by the Committee. No

attempt is made to reconcile with the "present *exclusive* claims of Dr. Jackson the fact that he consented to become a joint patentee with Dr. Morton, and to receive only *one-tenth* part of its profits, and thereupon even took an oath that they were joint discoverers."* Commenting severely on Dr. Morton's attempt to secure the patent for his own pecuniary benefit, no intimation is given of the formal attempt of Dr. Jackson, through his legal advisers, to obtain for himself an increased share of its profits. While the Report heralds forth Dr. Morton's offer to *sell* his discovery to the Government, for the use of the army and navy, and speaks of his attempt to "extort money from the nation's sufferings," it conceals his *gratuitous* offer of its use for both those departments, on account of the existing Mexican war, and his like *gratuitous* offer for the benefit of every public charitable institution in the United States. . . .

The document closes with the following intelligence: "Note.—Before the ink with which we penned our concluding sentence was dry, a telegraphic despatch was laid before us by Joseph L. Lord, Esq., of Boston, announcing that, on the 31st of January last, the *Institute of France* awarded the Cross of the Legion of Honor to Dr. Jackson, as the discoverer of etherization. It is extremely gratifying to find, that our own views concur with the decision which has

* What would have been Dr. Jackson's position, if he had merely permitted this discovery to go forth to the world as — in the specification accompanying the patent, he made oath that it really was — made jointly by himself and Dr. Morton? He has only, therefore, to remain silent, and he is sure of the chief honors of the discovery. The ribbon of France and the medal of Sweden will be his, and none may challenge his right to wear them. But, alas! he sees fit to claim all, though all was virtually his before; and he realizes the fate of the dog in the fable, who "grasped the shadow, and the substance missed." He, too, *opens his mouth*; and what fortune gave, folly lost. Dr. Jackson must, indeed, as it seems to us, be classed among those who have been "ruined at their own request." — *Casket and Ribbon*.

been pronounced in favor of Dr. Jackson *by the most enlightened body of scientific men in the world.*"

The Committee, unfortunately, were soon to be deprived of this gratification. Like other statements which they had made on Mr. Lord's authority, this last—most flattering one—proves to have been *very highly colored*. Dr. Jackson had indeed received a *ribbon*: but the gift was in nowise connected with the *French Institute*; and he was himself at last obliged (when pressed by various newspaper inquiries) publicly to declare in print, *that he had never stated that there had been any formal decision of that body in his favor*; and that the above announcement in the Minority Report was the result of a *telegraphic mistake*. We believe, however, that he has never attempted to explain how it happened, that his attorneys, in his name and by his sanction, gave direct currency to the same "mistake" on various other public occasions, and *when no telegraph was used as the medium of communication*. We hardly think that Dr. Jackson will ever get a verdict in his favor from the French Academy. It seems certain, at any rate, that his claims are entirely overlooked by the American Academy; since that learned body has not even published, in its new volume, Dr. Jackson's communication, setting forth his pretensions as the discoverer of etherization.

A voluminous Appendix accompanies this Minority Report. The reader will find there all the affidavits in the case, which he has seen so often in former publications, and which must by this time have assumed a very familiar aspect. An unexpected discovery will, however, reward his patient investigations, as he draws near the close of the pamphlet. He will there find various documents upon Dr. Morton's side, which (as it would seem) must have got into their present company by accident or inadvertence on the part of the Committee. There are the depositions of Spear

and Leavitt,* upon which the Majority Report had been led to speak of the "professional irregularity of one of Dr. Jackson's attorneys." A most important letter from Dr. Augustus A. Gould, of Boston, also is there, charging those gentlemen with "a breach of courtesy and confidence;" exposing various inaccuracies in their statements; and expressly averring, that Dr. Morton, on an occasion alluded to, did mention to him his early experiments, made before the interview with Jackson; adding, "*Indeed I had many reasons for believing that experiments of the nature specified by him had been performed.*" There is another most severe letter from Mr. Metcalf, charging Dr. Jackson's attorneys with "positive falsehood." . . . These latter documents throw great light upon the mode in which this controversy has been conducted on the part of Dr. Jackson and his friends. *None of them had before appeared in print; and verily we are astonished that Dr. Jackson and his friends should now wish to circulate them.* . . . An excellent letter also appears, addressed by Dr. Oliver W. Holmes (the poet-physician) to Hon. Isaac C. Morse, in which he says, "It is well known that Dr. Morton, instead of profiting by his discovery, has suffered in mind, body, and estate, in consequence of the time and toil he has consecrated to it.

"I have no particular relations with Dr. Morton, and no interest in common with him, to bias me in my opinion and feelings. But, remembering what other countries have done for their public benefactors, and unwilling to believe that a rich and prosperous republic cannot afford, and will not

* With an entire unconsciousness of demerit, Mr. Lord, accompanied by a professional brother, waits on Mr. Leavitt, and says, "Now, Mr. Leavitt, what did you mean by swearing that I sought to bribe you?" He replied, "You or Mr. Lord told me that *I should lose nothing* by signing such a statement; and *I supposed you meant to give me something*, if I would." Mr. Lord then asked Mr. Leavitt, if that was *all* the ground for saying he had bribed him. Mr. Leavitt replied in the affirmative. — *Casket and Ribbon.*

incline, to indulge its gratitude whenever a proper occasion presents itself, I have addressed you this line to tell you, that *I think now is the time, and this is the man.*"

Finally, a communication is published by which the high authority of Dr. James Jackson, of Boston, is claimed for Dr. Morton, whom he considers entitled to a grant from Congress for the "ether-discovery, *more than any and all other persons in the world.*" And we find also a letter from Dr. Henry J. Bigelow, of Boston, one of the surgeons of the Hospital, to Mr. Winthrop, which so *ably, clearly, and concisely* states the *whole* argument in favor of Morton, that we cannot refrain from quoting it entire.* Dr. B. is of the opinion of Paley, who says, "He alone *discovers* who *proves.*" . . .

* "Boston, Jan. 23, 1848.

"Dear Sir, — Learning that Dr. Morton is in Washington, and being much interested in the ether-controversy, I take the liberty to write to you.

"I believe most fully, that Dr. Morton deserves any reward Congress may grant to the discoverer; because, although many people have *thought* that a man could be intoxicated beyond the reach of pain, Dr. Morton alone *proved* this *previous possibility* to be a *certainty*, and *safe*. A diagram will make the matter plainer than words: —

<i>Before</i> October, 1846.	Discovery in October, 1846.	<i>After</i> October, 1846.
Who made the suggestion? Here is the only ground of dispute.	Consecutive experiments by Morton.	<i>Morton alone</i> took the responsibility of danger, and proved that ether was, 1st, <i>certain</i> ; 2d, <i>safe</i> .

"The two last points, viz. the consecutive experiments and their confirmation, which *nobody disputes to Morton*, make him, in my eyes, the discoverer. The only doubt is, Who made the *suggestion*? To me this is of no importance. Dr. Jackson says, 'I did. I told Mr. Morton to try the experiment; and, unless I had so told him, he would never have tried it.' Dr. Jackson adds, 'I first tried ether when I was suffering from chlorine in 1842. I afterwards recommended it to Mr. Peabody.' But Dr. Morton confutes even these positions. He says to Dr. Jackson, — 1st, I show, by the evidence of Dr. Gould, Mr. Wightman, and Mr. Metcalf, that I was experimenting with ether before the interview in which you claim to have brought it to my notice. 2d, In 1842, you only rediscovered what was before clearly in print in Pereira's *Materia Medica*. 3d, You claim to have told Mr. Peabody what you *knew* of ether. Now, you could not *know* it. You have stated all your grounds of deduction, and the widest inference you could draw from them

Finally, then, we would express our conviction, that the positions taken by Dr. Edwards are not in the slightest degree weakened by any of the arguments in the Minority Report; but that, on the contrary, they are confirmed by various new documents, which, had they not been so unaccountably appended to that Report, would probably never have seen the light. The two Reports, indeed, as it seems to us, should be examined in the reversed order.

We believe, that, if any candid or unprejudiced person, *after reading the Minority Report*, will take up that of Dr. Edwards, he will find it to be a complete *a priori refutation* of all that has since been so plausibly advanced in Dr. Jackson's behalf.

We sincerely congratulate Dr. Morton upon the fact that the opinion is constantly becoming more and more strong

is a *suspicion* of the properties of ether; and a *suspicion* in science, an *unconfirmed theory*, amounts to nothing. Finally, what you claim to have discovered in 1842 you kept to yourself during four years. Do you expect the world to believe you knew its value? Do you expect it to reward you for letting people suffer during that length of time? Besides, the suggestion of anæsthetic agencies occurred to Davy: especially was it followed out, though unsuccessfully, by Horace Wells, who, disgusted with failure, abandoned his attempts.—These and others had hypotheses, as well as Dr. Jackson. Morton alone proved the hypothesis. Without Morton, there is no evidence that the world would have known ether till the present day. I believe this covers the ground of important argument and difference in the pamphlets.

"I beg you to allow for any inelegancies, resulting from my attempt at brevity, and to believe me, very truly and respectfully, your obedient friend and servant,

"Mr. Winthrop."

"HENRY J. BIGELOW.

There is not, probably, a more skilful surgeon in the United States than Dr. Bigelow. He has just been appointed Professor of Surgery in the Massachusetts Medical College, on the resignation of Dr. George Hayward. To a great power of imparting information orally, he unites a condensed style of writing. He apparently entertains the opinion, well expressed by a contemporary reviewer, respecting productions moderate in bulk and *portable*, viz. that "the light skiff will shoot the cataracts of time, when a heavier vessel will infallibly go down." — *Casket and Ribbon*.

and general, that to *his* efforts and labors the world owes one of its choicest blessings. Though the honors already received by him have, through Dr. Jackson's instrumentality, been turned into insults, and the compensation fairly his due from Government has, through the same instrumentality, been as yet withheld, we cannot doubt that his services will eventually obtain a fitting reward, and that they will command the lasting gratitude of the country and of mankind.

It seems to us, that these efforts of Dr. Jackson and his friends have signally failed. On the one hand, the CASKET is, in our opinion, something MORE than "a snuff-box by way of charity;" and, on the other hand, the RIBBON is something LESS than "a unanimous decision of the French Institute, after a full sifting of all the evidence."

VI. AWARD OF THE FRENCH INSTITUTE.

In March, 1850, the French Institute pronounced an award in the matter of the ether-discovery. The first prize of medicine and surgery, for the years 1847 and 1848, was decreed to Messrs. Jackson and Morton jointly. The Committee of Medical and Surgical Prizes consisted of Messrs. Velpeau, Royer, Serres, Magendie, Duméril, Andral, Flourens, Lallemand, and Rouse. Various learned labors were considered and discussed by the Committee; but the discovery of the anæsthetic properties of ether was regarded as the most important of them all. The language of

the award is as follows: "Mr. Jackson and Mr. Morton were necessary to each other. Without the earnestness, the preconceived idea, the courage, not to say the audacity, of the latter, the fact observed by Mr. Jackson might have long remained unapplied; and, but for the fact observed by Mr. Jackson, the idea of Mr. Morton would perhaps have been barren and ineffectual."* Two thousand five hundred francs are therefore awarded to Mr. Jackson "for his observations and experiments on the anæsthetic effects of the inhalation of ether;"† and the same sum, to Mr. Morton "for having introduced this method into surgical practice, pursuant to the suggestions of Mr. Jackson."‡

It is a gratifying circumstance, that, though ether has been used at the Hospital since its first introduction in more than six hundred cases, it has never been attended with any injurious results. Dr. Hayward has always used sulphuric ether. The Drs.

* "M. Jackson et M. Morton ont été nécessaires l'un à l'autre. Sans les instances, la préoccupation, et le courage, pour ne pas dire l'audace, de celui-ci, l'observation faite par M. Jackson aurait pu rester longtemps inappliquée; et sans le fait observé par M. Jackson, la pensée de M. Morton aurait peut-être stérile et sans effets."

† "Pour ses observations et ses expériences sur les effets anesthetiques produits par l'inhalation de l'éther."

‡ "Pour avoir introduit cette méthode dans la pratique chirurgicale, d'après les indications de M. Jackson."

Warren have preferred a preparation of chloric ether, which differs, as I understand, from chloroform only in the proportion in which it is combined with alcohol. I close this chapter with the following statement, kindly furnished by Dr. Borland, one of the House Physicians : —

Massachusetts General Hospital,
May, 12, 1851.

Nathaniel I. Bowditch, Esq.

Sir, — In accordance with your desire, I have examined the Surgical Records of the Hospital, and find, that, since Jan. 1, 1848, there have been performed —

Under sulphuric ether	186
„ chloric ether	138
„ chloroform	25
„ nitrous oxide gas	1
	<hr/>
	350 { operations.

During this time, in cases of out-patients,
medical patients, setting of fractured limbs,
dressings, &c. ether has been employed in
at least 150 { cases *
more.

Yours respectfully,

J. NELSON BORLAND,

House Physician to Massachusetts General Hospital.

* Prior to January, 1848, ether had been used at the Hospital in a hundred and thirty-two cases (see p. 215); making a grand total of six hundred and thirty-two cases. It is, indeed, there resorted to in every serious operation.

CHAPTER X.

1848—1851.

WEDDING AT HOSPITAL. — GIFT OF TRUSTEES. — COST OF THE TWO NEW WINGS, &c. — DEATH OF DR. ENOCH HALE. — ALL FURTHER ETHER CONTROVERSY DECLINED. — GAS. — DEVISE OF JOHN D. WILLIAMS OF STORE WORTH SEVENTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS. — FREE BEDS PLACED AT DISPOSAL OF HIS EXECUTORS. — BEQUEST OF B. R. NICHOLS, SIX THOUSAND DOLLARS. — BEQUESTS OF JOHN BROMFIELD, IN ALL FORTY THOUSAND DOLLARS. — MR. HOOPER RESIGNS AS CHAIRMAN, AND IS ELECTED VICE-PRESIDENT. — BEQUEST OF HENRY TODD, FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS. — DEATH OF DR. JOHN D. FISHER. — ADDITION TO LODGE AT THE ASYLUM. — POST-MORTEM EXAMINATIONS. — DEATH OF SIGNOR SARTI. — NEW DONATION OF WILLIAM APPLETON, TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS. — NIGHT WATCH AT ASYLUM. — RESIGNATION OF DR. HAYWARD: HIS LONG AND VALUABLE SERVICES. — VOTES OF TRUSTEES. — VARIOLOID AT HOSPITAL. — VOTES OF TRUSTEES. — LEGACY OF DR. CHARLES W. WILDER, TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS. — LEE DONATIONS OF 1830. — DIX WARD AT ASYLUM NAMED IN HONOR OF MISS DIX.

At the annual meeting, Jan. 26, 1848, Messrs. Amos A. Lawrence and Charles H. Mills were elected Trustees, in place of Charles Amory and William T. Andrews, who, having declined a re-election, were thanked for their "very faithful and acceptable services." Feb. 6, all the Medical and Surgical Officers, heads of both departments, and Standing Committees, were re-elected. The following was the organization of the Hospital at this period: William Appleton, President; Theodore Lyman, Vice-President; Henry Andrews, Treasurer; Marcus Morton, jun. Secretary;

Nathaniel I. Bowditch, George M. Dexter, Robert Hooper, Amos A. Lawrence, Francis C. Lowell, Charles H. Mills, J. Thomas Stevenson, Edward Wigglesworth, Trustees on part of the Corporation ; Thomas Lamb, J. Wiley Edmands, John A. Lowell, and Henry B. Rogers, Trustees on part of the Committee ; Drs. James Jackson, George C. Shattuck, John Jeffries, Edward Reynolds, Board of Consultation ; Drs. Jacob Bigelow, Henry I. Bowditch, John D. Fisher, John B. S. Jackson, Enoch Hale, O. W. Holmes, Visiting Physicians ; Drs. John C. Warren, George Hayward, Solomon D. Townsend, Henry J. Bigelow, Samuel Parkman, J. Mason Warren, Visiting Surgeons ; Dr. Wm. Henry Thayer, Admitting Physician ; Richard Girdler, Superintendent of Hospital ; Dr. Bell, Physician and Superintendent of Asylum ; and Mr. and Mrs. Tyler, Steward and Matron. Two thousand copies of the annual report ordered. March 19, salary of the Admitting Physician was fixed at two hundred dollars. The subject of arranging a system of keeping the books of the Institution, so that the Treasurer's accounts may show the exact amount of receipts and expenditures of both departments, was discussed, and referred to Mr. Stevenson, who subsequently made a report ; and the following vote was adopted, viz. "That the auditor's certificate of the correctness of the quarterly accounts

of the Steward of the Asylum and of the Superintendent of the Hospital may be taken by the Treasurer as sufficient authority for entries in his books, in accordance with said accounts." May 7, Mrs. Girdler was requested to purchase a suitable wedding-gift to be presented to Thomas W. Hickford and Elizabeth McIntire, as a token of the appreciation by the Trustees of their long and faithful services at the Hospital. May 21, the subject of autopsies was referred to Mr. Bowditch, who, on June 4, made a report, which was accepted, and ordered to be placed on file. The Building Committee reported, that the new west wing cost \$29,500; east wing, \$28,000; furnishing, \$19,000; repairing centre, rebuilding old east wing cellar throughout, three reservoirs, copper gutters, old kitchen, outside painting, \$24,000; new kitchen, \$16,500; autopsy-room, sheds, chains, roads, sodding, fences, \$3,000: total, \$120,000. On July 2, a new ventilation of the north wing of the Asylum was ordered. Aug. 16, Drs. W. O. Johnson and R. W. Oliphant were chosen House Physicians, Dr. D. D. Slade and W. H. Thorndike House Surgeons; John E. Hathaway being re-elected Apothecary. Nov. 5, House Physicians and Surgeons were ordered to carry forward the Indexes of the Medical and Surgical Records, as recommended by Dr. Thayer. Nov. 19, "Voted that the members of this Board have heard

with profound emotion of the decease of Dr. Enoch Hale, late one of the Visiting Physicians of the Hospital." "Voted that the Trustees, while they mourn his loss, in common with their fellow-citizens, as one of the most distinguished and useful members of the profession which he adorned, have especial cause for regret in the fact, that by his loss the institution committed to their charge is deprived of one of its oldest, most useful, and most successful medical officers."

Dec. 3, 1848, the Trustees request the Admitting Physician to aim at an equality in number of male and female patients at Hospital. Dec. 17, Messrs. Lawrence and Mills were appointed to prepare the annual report. This report occupies five pages, and, with the documents annexed, forms a pamphlet of thirty-two pages. It mentions the income of the year as \$17,225; the property as being \$154,133.82; being a reduction of \$13,959.06, caused by extensive alterations and repairs at Asylum, and the final payments for the enlargement of the Hospital. It states that the bequests of Messrs. John Redman and William Oliver have not yet been received. They probably will not be for several years to come. It mentions the donation of John D. Williams, of a store valued at \$15,000; now worth \$17,000, and rented for \$1,050; and says, "Since the closing of the Treasurer's account, this legacy has been grate-

fully accepted by the Trustees, who have tendered to the representatives of the deceased their acknowledgments for this last evidence of his bounty." The report thus notices the death of Dr. Hale: —

"The institution has, within the past year, been called upon to lament the loss of one of their oldest and most valued officers. Dr. Enoch Hale, one of the Visiting Physicians of the Hospital since 1838, died on the 12th of November last, in the 58th year of his age. Dr. Hale was widely known, as well from his devotion to his own profession, in which he held a distinguished position from an early period of his life, as from his ardent zeal in the pursuit of other branches of science. In the performance of his duties at the Hospital, he evinced in a remarkable degree that fidelity and tenderness of feeling which in his private practice gained for him many friends, who regarded him with affection and respect. His whole life was graced by a purity of heart which won the confidence of all who were in any way associated with him here, and which, we may humbly trust, has won for him its high reward in heaven."

Weekly expense of each patient at Hospital, \$4.73; being ninety-one cents less than preceding year. The expenses at the Asylum were \$33,130.09; the receipts, \$36,506.52. Its inmates at end of the year, seventy-seven males, eighty-four females: total, a hundred and sixty-one. It appears that "during the year extensive alterations have been made in the north wing of the Asylum, amounting nearly to the entire remodelling of the interior of that portion of the

building," at a cost of somewhat more than six thousand dollars. Dr. Bell's report contains a detailed statement of these alterations, and some important remarks on modes of ventilation generally, and a statement of means here resorted to. In interest and importance it does not fall behind his reports of former years. Dec. 29, in Hospital, sixty-four males, thirty-nine females: Americans, thirty-nine; foreigners, sixty-four: total, a hundred and three.

Jan. 12, 1849, a letter from Dr. Charles T. Jackson, with many accompanying documents, was presented by the Chairman, and laid on the table. "A communication from Moses Williams, Esq., was received and read, informing this Board that his late brother, John D. Williams, devised to this institution the store No. 17 and 18, Blackstone-street, in Boston, upon certain conditions and for certain purposes expressed in his will, an extract from which was also sent. Whereupon voted that the Trustees gratefully accept this devise, acknowledging in it a renewed instance of that bounty to which upon other occasions the institution has been so largely indebted; the said real estate to be always retained unsold, and the income thereof applied to the support of free beds in the Hospital, as directed by said testator." Jan. 17, a printed "memorial" of the Messrs. Lord, in behalf of Dr. C. T. Jackson, was several days since transmitted

to each Trustee of this institution, asking a revision of the views expressed in the last annual report respecting the ether-discovery; and a letter from Dr. Jackson, with various accompanying documents, was at the last meeting laid before the Board. And letters upon the same subject from Theodore Metcalf, Esq., and Dr. A. A. Gould, having also been received, it was "voted that any further action of the Board in relation to the ether-controversy is wholly unnecessary." "Voted also that copies of the above vote be transmitted to Dr. Jackson and to Dr. Morton respectively."

Jan. 24, Dr. Thayer presented his second volume of the Medical Index. The Steward was authorized to hire the Joy Farm for one year at five hundred dollars. Copies of the letters of Mr. Metcalf and Dr. Gould, asked for by the attorneys of Dr. Jackson, were refused; a similar request from Dr. Morton having been previously declined.

At the annual meeting of the Corporation in January, 1849, the same Trustees were re-elected; William S. Bullard, Esq., being chosen by the Visitors in place of Mr. Edmands, who had declined a re-election, and was thanked for his services. Feb. 18, all the Medical and Surgical Officers, &c., were re-elected; and Dr. D. Humphreys Storer was chosen a Visiting Physician, in place of Dr. Hale, deceased; and Dr.

Samuel L. Abbott, the Admitting Physician, in place of Dr. Thayer. Fifteen hundred copies of the annual report were ordered. March 4, Messrs. Rogers and Wigglesworth were chosen a Standing Committee on the library; and fifty dollars was appropriated towards the medical library. It was also "voted that, in all cases, letters of guardianship shall be required to be taken out, or the removal of the patient from the Asylum insisted on, in all cases whenever, in the opinion of the Superintendent and the Visiting Committee, it shall be thought expedient."

May 20, the executors of the late Benjamin R. Nichols transmitted six thousand dollars, being the amount bequeathed by him to the institution. The Trustees accept with gratitude this munificent bequest, and tender to the executors their thanks for the prompt and liberal manner in which they have carried into effect the intentions of the testator." June 8, the Visiting Committee's record states, "Told John Ferris, that, if he was again found smoking in the ward, he would be discharged immediately." Sunday, Aug. 12, 1849, the record reads, "An adjourned meeting of the Board was held at the Hospital, after evening service. The Secretary, having recently met with a severe railroad accident, was unable to attend, and desired me to act in his behalf. At the hour appointed for the meeting, there was a violent storm; and most of

the Board pass their summer months in the country. The result was, that not a single member of the Board attended, a circumstance which probably never happened before.* Many years ago, on one occasion, I was the only member present. N. I. Bowditch."

Aug. 20, Drs. Charles D. Homans and Charles G. Adams were elected House Surgeons; and, on Aug. 24, Drs. Calvin Ellis and Waldo J. Burnett, House Physicians; John E. Hathaway being re-elected House Apothecary. Sept. 16, Dr. Holmes declined a re-election as Visiting Physician. Nov. 4, a communication from the Medical Officers, as to a change in the names and qualifications of the House Officers, and as to special rooms for patients whose presence in the wards is injurious to other patients, was referred to Messrs. Bowditch and Lawrence, who, on the first subject submitted to them, reported in favor of the proposed change. Nov. 18, gas was ordered to be introduced into the Hospital, under the superintendence of Mr. Dexter. Dec. 16, Messrs. Bullard and Wigglesworth were appointed to prepare the annual report. This report occupies six pages, and, with the accompanying documents, forms a pamphlet of twenty-three pages. It states the income of the

* It had happened once before, and has happened once since. And there have been various occasions when only one Trustee was present; viz. June 14, 1835, Mr. Bond; Jan. 5, 1836, Mr. Tuckerman; Aug. 6, 1843, Mr. Andrews; Aug. 8, 1847, Mr. Hooper, &c. &c.

year at \$22,620.51, — the property, exclusive of reversionary interests and the edifices, &c. at the two departments, at \$169,466.51; the part invested and yielding income being \$156,898.93. • The present income is shown to be insufficient for the wants of the Hospital, without annual aid from the benevolent. It contains the following appropriate notice of two deceased benefactors: —

“During the past year, we have been called to mourn the death of the Vice-President of this Corporation, the Hon. Theodore Lyman, a gentleman whose polished manners and cultivated mind made him an ornament of the social circle; whose ability, moral worth, and public spirit, gained him the esteem and confidence of his fellow-citizens, and raised him to the head of our municipal government; whose words of kindness and acts of charity are held in grateful remembrance by many hearts; and whose munificent donations and bequests, particularly those to the State Reform School, place him in the front rank of the founders and benefactors of benevolent institutions in this commonwealth.

“The past year has also witnessed the decease of another public benefactor, John Bromfield, Esq., whose will contained, among many other munificent bequests to public objects, one of forty thousand dollars to this institution. One half of this sum is bequeathed to the Hospital in Boston, the other half to the M'Lean Asylum. This bequest, however, like some others above alluded to, is reversionary, and does not add to the present means of the institution. Mr. Bromfield's generosity and public spirit had been already evinced in a conspicuous manner by the donation

which he made, a few years since, of twenty-five thousand dollars, to the Boston Athenæum. Notwithstanding these acts of liberality, Mr. Bromfield was not a seeker of notice or of praise. His habits were retired, and his manner unpretending. He was remarkable for integrity, for sound judgment, and for quiet resolution. Whatever he believed to be his duty, he did. He is remembered for his public bounty; but he deserves as much respect for his private virtues. Those who knew him best esteemed him most."

Mr. Girdler's report contains the usual statistics, and shows the weekly expense of each patient to have been \$4.55. The expenses of the Asylum were \$37,601.57; the net receipts, \$38,988.31; and this department has been crowded through the year. The report states that but little has been expended on the buildings. It mentions the introduction of gas into the Hospital. Dr. Bell's report is quite brief, occupying six pages. It continues the table of admissions and results from former reports. It mentions the death of no less than three heads of similar institutions, and closes as follows:—

"Left almost at the head of the list of seniority in this vocation, I realize in their premature removal not only the uncertainties of life, but the heavy weight and wearing responsibilities upon the human constitution, inseparable from the care of the insane, however fully one may be sustained by every aid of sufficient and most competent fellow-laborers; and I cannot but look forward to a period, not far removed, when, with a consciousness of a full day's work completed (a day which thus far, in all my relations

to your Board, to the medical profession, and the community, has been all sunshine), I may ask a discharge from your generous and grateful service."

Dec. 28, males sixty-five, females forty-five,—total, one hundred and ten,—in Hospital. Americans, paying thirteen, free thirty; foreigners, paying ten, *free fifty-seven*.

At the annual meeting of the Corporation, in January, 1850, Robert Hooper, Esq., was elected Vice-President, in place of the lamented Theodore Lyman, deceased; and G. Howland Shaw, Esq., was elected a Trustee, in place of Mr. Hooper, who was thanked for his long and valuable services. He had been a Trustee thirteen years, and Chairman of the Board for nearly eight years; displaying a zeal, fidelity, and ability not surpassed by any of his predecessors. Feb. 3, Mr. Bowditch was elected Chairman. All the Medical and Surgical Officers were re-elected; except that Dr. George C. Shattuck, jun., was chosen as one of the Visiting Physicians, in place of Dr. Holmes, resigned. The same Standing Committees were re-appointed. Fifteen hundred copies of the annual report were ordered to be printed.

Feb. 17, a communication from Thomas P. Cushing, Executor of Henry Todd, was received, with an extract from his will; and it was voted, "that the Trustees gratefully accept the legacy of five thousand

dollars bequeathed to this institution by the late Henry Todd, upon the conditions contained in his will." The number of free beds in the institution at his death, exclusive of those supported by annual subscribers, is stated as being forty-three. The subject of the will of John D. Williams was referred to the Chairman and the Visiting Committee, to decide on the number of free beds at the disposal of the executors of his will. On March 3, the Committee made a written report, which is recorded, recommending that one free bed be placed at the disposal of each of the four executors named in the will. The extract from the will is recorded with this report.

March 17, 1850, it was "voted that in the recent decease of Dr. John D. Fisher, late a physician of the Hospital, this Board deeply regrets the loss of an officer, who, to high scientific attainments, united amiable and unassuming manners and the greatest kindness of heart; one who has uniformly discharged in a most zealous, faithful, and acceptable manner his duties toward this institution." Dr. Marshall S. Perry was elected to fill this vacancy. April 17, Dr. Bell was authorized to add a second story to the male lodge. May 5, a recent official report of the Directors of the House of Industry was discussed; and it was thought not to require any notice of this Board. May 17, an invitation to attend the next meeting of the Asso-

ciation of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane, to be held in Boston, June 18, was received and read. The Association met one evening at the Asylum in Somerville. The Vice-President and several of the Trustees attended. It was a very interesting and agreeable occasion. June 22, Dr. Abbott had leave to visit Europe for a few months; Dr. J. C. Dalton, jun., being appointed to act till his return. The subject of post-mortem operations was discussed, and referred to the Visiting Committee; and, on July 22, Mr. Bowditch, in behalf of this Committee, made a report, which was accepted and recorded, suggesting precautions to be used to prevent their being performed when prohibited by the friends and family of the deceased. Aug. 13, J. Nelson Borland and Albert H. Blanchard were chosen House Pupils in the Medical department; and Freeman J. Bumstead and Charles H. Hildreth, House Pupils in the Surgical department; Mr. Hathaway being re-elected Apothecary.

Sept. 3, the Chairman and Mr. Rogers were appointed a Committee on the subject of a late post-mortem examination, which had given dissatisfaction to the friends of the deceased. Dec. 10, the Committee reported; and a special meeting was called upon the subject for Sept. 13; at which Dr. Jacob Bigelow, Dr. Dalton, the Superintendent, and Mr. Bumstead the

House Surgical Pupil, were present, and stated the facts of the case alluded to; and Dr. Bigelow presented his views on the subject of autopsies in general. Five votes were then adopted, prescribing very definitely certain rules for the future. Oct. 11, a statement of the facts and opinions ascertained and expressed on this occasion, prepared by the Chairman, was read, and ordered to be placed on file.

Signor Antonio Sarti, a distinguished anatomist, and the proprietor of some very beautiful and expensive wax-preparations, who had recently been delivering public lectures, died at the Hospital, Sept. 21. The Trustees, considering his services and labors in the cause of science, preferred to make no charge for his board while in the institution. The Chairman, accordingly, waited on Madame Sarti, and communicated to her this vote.

Oct. 16, the subject of putting an appropriate inscription on the statue of Apollo, presented by Mr. Everett, was referred to the Visiting Committee, with full powers. The claim for damages against the Grand Junction Railroad, and the right of passing Craigie's Bridge free of toll, were referred to the Chairman and the Visiting Committee.

At a special meeting held Nov. 9, the following preamble and vote, as prepared by the Chairman, were adopted and recorded: "A communication having

been received from William Appleton, Esq., President of this Corporation, announcing his donation of twenty thousand dollars for the erection of buildings at the M'Lean Asylum for the Insane, designed especially for such patients as shall have previously dwelt in residences of a spacious and cheerful character, and with the view of affording, as far as possible, to this the wealthiest class of our inmates the accustomed comforts and conveniences of home, — voted that the Trustees gratefully accept this munificent gift. They recognize in it the same practical wisdom and the same true benevolence that have heretofore furnished to this institution a fund of ten thousand dollars, the income of which is to be for ever applied in aid of our poorer patients. The enlarged philanthropy which has thus provided for the equal relief of *rich* and *poor*, when suffering under the greatest of human deprivations, will ever entitle Mr. Appleton to a high rank among the benefactors of this community.”

Dec. 15, Messrs. Shaw and Rogers were appointed a Committee to prepare the annual report. This report is nine pages in length, and, with its accompanying documents, makes a pamphlet of thirty-one pages. It states the income of the year from property, \$16,917.99; extra dividend from Hospital Life Insurance Company, \$18,000; free-bed subscriptions, \$2,100; surplus at Asylum, \$1,500: total,

\$38,517.99. The property invested yielding income is stated at \$171,119.98. It mentions the investment of fifteen thousand dollars of the income. It gratefully acknowledges the receipt of five thousand dollars from T. P. Cushing, Esq., Executor of Mr. Henry Todd, and thanks the annual subscribers for free beds. It pays the following just tribute to one recently deceased: —

“ Within the past year, the institution has been called to lament the death of one of its valued officers, — the late Dr. John D. Fisher, one of the physicians of the Hospital. To high attainments in other branches of science than the one to which he especially devoted himself, he united the most amiable and unassuming manners, and the greatest kindness of heart. To this institution he uniformly discharged his duties in a most zealous, faithful, and acceptable manner.”

It mentions the expenses of the Hospital department, \$29,024 ; and, deducting \$4,226.27 received from paying patients, shows that nearly \$25,000 a year must be drawn from the general funds ; being nearly ten thousand dollars more than our average income. The weekly expense of each patient was \$4.90. One startling fact is thus recorded : “ *Of the whole number of patients in the Hospital during the year, nearly two-thirds have been foreigners.*”

At the Asylum, on Jan. 1, there remained a hundred males, a hundred females ; the amount charged for board being \$44,183.37, and the net expenses

\$40,623.38; sums greater than ever before. Special notice is invited to Dr. Bell's report, as containing much of interest to the Corporation and to the public. The Committee fully concur with Dr. Bell, that this department has reached what should be deemed its full capacity; the average number of inmates for the year being two hundred and one.

The Committee say: "At the Hospital in Boston, no change of importance has been made, or is believed to be required." An extended notice of the two gifts of Mr. Appleton, ten and twenty thousand dollars, closes thus: —

"The Trustees have gratefully accepted this donation. It is unnecessary to comment upon its value, or upon the liberal philanthropy which has prompted and guided the hand of the giver. While it increases so largely the debt of gratitude which the Asylum already owed to him who has been its continued benefactor, it leaves nothing apparently wanting for the perfection of that plan for complete relief to all classes of persons, which has ever been the design of the institution."

Capt. Girdler's report occupies four pages, and contains the annual analyses. Dr. Bell's report occupies nine pages, and will be found to merit the commendation of the Committee. Dec. 27, Americans, eighteen paying, twenty-six free; foreigners, thirteen paying, *fifty-six free*: total, a hundred and thirteen.

Dec. 29, the subject of the expediency of employing

a night-watch at the Asylum, as a protection against fire, was referred to the Visiting Committee, to report at the next meeting. Mr. Hathaway's salary was fixed at four hundred dollars; he agreeing to remain two years on those terms, if re-elected. Jan. 15, 1851, the Committee on the subject reported in favor of the establishment of a night-watch. Dr. Bell and the Committee were of opinion, that, to a great extent, the security of a night-watch was already incidentally enjoyed; but, in view of the late melancholy destruction by fire and loss of life at the institution in Augusta, it was thought altogether advisable to have a special attendant charged with this particular duty. If not actually needed for the safety of the institution, it would serve "to ward off public opinion." Jan. 22, a letter claiming compensation for a cow killed while boarded at the Asylum was referred to the Visiting Committee, *with full powers*. Dr. Thayer presented another volume of his Index of the Medical Records, and was thanked for the satisfactory manner in which the same was executed.

At the annual meeting, Jan. 22, 1851, John A. Lowell, Esq., having been for several months absent in Europe, and intending to remain absent all this year,* the Board of Visitors elected in his stead Dr.

* When Mr. Lowell shall have returned from his present tour, he will, on the occurrence of a vacancy, receive a cordial welcome from his old associates, should he be willing at a future day to resume his duties as a Trustee.

William J. Dale to be a Trustee of the institution. It is believed that Dr. Dale is the first practising physician who has ever held a seat as Trustee; though Dr. Robbins had practised for several years, and B. D. Greene and Charles Amory, Esqrs., had studied that profession. Feb. 2, all the Medical and Surgical Officers were re-elected, and those of the two departments and the Standing Committees re-appointed.

A letter from Dr. George Hayward, declining re-election as one of the Visiting Surgeons of the Hospital, was read; and it was voted, that the Chairman be requested to call upon Dr. Hayward, and express to him the unanimous wishes of the Trustees that he should continue his connection with the Hospital. With this request, so highly complimentary to Dr. Hayward, he decided to comply. Fifteen hundred copies of the annual report were ordered to be printed. It was also voted, "that the subject of the admission of patients, and of the existence of varioloid in the Hospital, be referred to the Visiting Committee, to inquire whether there has been any neglect on the part of the Admitting Physician, or other Medical Officers of the Hospital." The subject of instructing the Treasurer to open accounts in his books, showing all the reversionary interests of this Corporation in any property, was referred to the Committee of Fi-

nance. In consequence of "the long and faithful services" of Mrs. Mary E. Tyler as Matron of the M'Lean Asylum for the Insane, her salary was raised to four hundred and fifty dollars.* Feb. 16, the Visiting Committee were not prepared to make a full report on the subject of varioloid, &c. Mr. Stevenson was appointed to consult with the Treasurer as to keeping one account in his books which should show all the receipts and expenditures of both departments of the institution, according to the report and vote of April 2, 1848.

At a special meeting, called by request of the Chairman, Feb. 24, a letter from Dr. James Jackson, on the existing small-pox and varioloid, was read and referred to the Committee on that subject. All new admissions at Hospital were stopped till further order of the Board. It appeared that there had been nineteen cases; that two had died;† and that one patient (a little girl) was severely ill. The Committee, however, had not fully completed their labors.

March 2, the following preamble and vote, as proposed by the Chairman, were adopted: — "A commu-

* The salary of Miss Barber, the Female Supervisor, was also lately raised to four hundred dollars.

† One was David Cummings, who died Jan. 23. His occupation was that of tender of the furnace. He was a most industrious and worthy man, and had been in the employ of the institution several years. His sphere, indeed, was humble; but he performed well all the duties of life. And who of us can hope to be entitled to a higher eulogy?

nication from the executors of the will of Dr. Charles W. Wilder, of Leominster, announcing a legacy of twenty thousand dollars for the support of free beds at the Hospital, was read; and it was thereupon voted that the Trustees gratefully accept this truly munificent bequest; and, in so doing, they would notice two circumstances by which its value is especially enhanced. Large as it is in itself, the gift comes not, as might have been supposed, from one of the wealthiest of our own citizens, but has been contributed from the more moderate fortunes of one of our country-towns. It is believed to be the first and only bequest ever received by this institution from a member of that profession which, more than any other, is competent fully to appreciate the importance of this public charity, and to form an accurate opinion as to the judgment and fidelity with which its concerns have been administered. It is a gift, noble in itself; a gift from the country to the poor of the city, from a physician in aid of the sick and the suffering. Voted that the amount thus bequeathed be known as the Wilder Fund for Free Beds; the income thereof to be for ever applied as directed by the benevolent testator." Copies of these votes were ordered to be transmitted to the executors. An extract from the will is recorded. It makes the legacy payable, half in mortgages, half in railroad stocks, — the latter, at present, are depressed

in value, — the cash-amount, perhaps, not over six thousand dollars. Dr. Wilder left four children, and about ninety thousand dollars in all; thus devoting to public uses a very large share of all he was worth.

Twenty-five dollars was voted in aid of a patient who has become blind. “A communication from the Physicians and Surgeons, suggesting that the wards be distinguished by placing on their entrances names of individuals who have been celebrated in the history of medicine and surgery, was read; and the subject was referred to a Special Committee, consisting of Messrs. Bowditch and Stevenson.”

The Committee upon the subject of varioloid made their final report, — stating that one patient who probably had the disease was admitted, Dec. 16; one who certainly had it, on Jan. 8; that there was no thorough general vaccination of the patients in the whole house till Jan. 28; that the total number of cases was twenty, and of deaths two; and the following votes were adopted: “Voted that there was a positive violation of the rules of the institution on the part of Dr. Abbott, in admitting Miss Eunice B. Bridge as a patient, without having first seen her; * and the fact that the patient so admitted had the varioloid is evidence of the

* Dr. Abbott is a vigilant and careful officer; but, in this instance, had been induced by motives of courtesy towards a brother-physician to rely on his certificate as to the fitness of a patient who was an inmate of his own family.

importance of a strict observance of said rules; and the Trustees take this occasion to urge on Dr. Abbott the necessity of the greatest caution in all cases of admission of patients, where there is the slightest reason to suppose them affected by this or any other contagious disease. Voted that Dr. Bowditch took seasonable steps to have all his patients vaccinated, and saw that his orders were executed. Voted that the other Visiting Physicians and Surgeons then on duty were the two Drs. Bigelow and Dr. Hayward. It appears that these gentlemen gave orders for the vaccination of the patients in their wards; but the Trustees have to regret that they did not take the necessary steps to have their orders executed with the least possible delay. Voted that there was a want of due care on the part of the House Pupils, and perhaps of some of the attendants, in passing from the patients ill with the varioloid to visit patients in other parts of the house. Voted that, in the opinion of the Trustees, no pains should be spared to effect a complete separation of varioloid patients from all other patients in the house." These votes were printed, and a copy sent to each of the Medical and Surgical Officers.

The subject of erecting a separate building for contagious or offensive cases, not to exceed two thousand dollars in cost, was referred to the Visiting Committee, with full powers. March 16, fifty dollars was voted

for the Medical Library. The Committee on naming the wards made a report, which was read and laid on the table for future consideration. It has not yet been accepted. It recommends the giving to the wards the names of those who have been the chief benefactors of the institution, either by donations or by professional services.

Voted that the Chairman be a Committee on the subject of the Lee donations, to consult with the Lee family, and report to the Board. The Secretary was instructed to procure a record-book, in which to enter all past and future devises and bequests made to the institution, extracts from wills, &c.

A letter from Dr. George Hayward, respecting a recent vote of the Trustees, having been received, was read, and ordered to be placed on file; and the following votes were passed:—"Voted that, whenever a case of varioloid or smallpox shall occur in the Hospital, it shall be the duty of all the attending Physicians and Surgeons to see that all the patients in the Hospital, whose cases will allow it, shall be vaccinated. Voted that the Secretary be directed to send a copy of the above vote to Dr. Hayward, and to inform him that the vote referred to in his letter was passed on the ground that the course now directed to be pursued in future should, in the opinion of the Trustees, have been pursued on the first appearance of varioloid

in the Hospital, in January last." Dr. Hayward's letter had stated the fact, that no case of the disease had occurred in his wards;* and that, when he was informed of the disease being in the House, under such circumstances as to make him apprehensive for the safety of his own patients, viz. on Jan. 26, he took measures for their immediate vaccination.

March 30, it was ordered that patients be admitted from and after this day. The following preamble and vote, as prepared by the Chairman, were unanimously adopted: — "A communication from Dr. George Hayward, by which he declines any longer to serve as one of the Visiting Surgeons of the Hospital, having been received and read, it was voted that the Board sincerely regret the retirement of Dr. Hayward from a situation which for twenty-five years he has filled with so much honor to himself, and usefulness to the community. It was his privilege to perform the first capital operation rendered painless by the influence of ether, thus connecting this institution with the establishment of the greatest discovery of the age. His professional skill, his good judgment, and his kindness towards the patients, manifested throughout this long period of official duty, and which so recently

* No case of varioloid had occurred in the ward of Dr. Bowditch; but there was subsequently a very mild one. If the vaccination was in that instance ineffectual, it was probably owing to the constitutional temperament of the patient.

induced the Trustees to request a continuance of his services, justly entitle him to grateful remembrance, as having been one of the most able and faithful officers of our institution."

Messrs. Lowell, Bowditch, and the Treasurer, were appointed a Committee to receive Dr. Wilder's legacy; which duty they have performed. Messrs. Rogers and Stevenson, with Mr. Tyler, were appointed "a Building Committee for the erection of new buildings at the Asylum, according to the terms of Hon. William Appleton's donation." Dr. Henry G. Clark was elected successor to Dr. Hayward. April 11, Mr. Rogers declined acting on the Building Committee, on account of other pressing engagements.

April 16, "owing to a storm so severe as to render it unsafe to cross the bridges, the usual quarterly meeting was not held to-day."* April 18, at a special meeting called at the Asylum by direction of the Chairman, Mr. Lamb was appointed a member of the Building Committee, and the subject of the erection of the proposed buildings was discussed.

The Chairman presented a report on the Lee donations. It states the original gift in 1830; the separate account, hitherto kept, of the income of it; the vote of the Trustees in December, 1830; the present

* It was in this storm that the light-house at Minot's Ledge was destroyed, and a steeple blown down in Charlestown.

amount of the fund, \$31,681.33; that the recent donation of Mr. Appleton had rendered it inexpedient to erect any other new buildings at the Asylum; that the Trustees were therefore desirous of conferring the name of Mr. Lee on the present building for male patients; and that the family of Mr. Lee state their disinclination to have his name given to any building, old or new, and release the institution from all obligation, legal or otherwise, by reason of the vote before referred to. They say, "While we justly appreciate this proposed tribute, we beg leave to suggest the more appropriate name of Dix; and we shall be much gratified to be so far instrumental in commemorating the services of a lady in the cause the donor meant to aid, and which are admitted to be without parallel." The report closes with recommending the adoption of the following preamble and vote: "Whereas this Board hold in the same grateful remembrance as did their predecessors the munificence of the late Mr. Joseph Lee and his family, and are desirous that it should never be forgotten by those who may come after them; and whereas the heirs of Mr. Lee have requested that the Trustees, instead of giving his name to the building for male patients, as had been proposed, would give to said building 'the more appropriate name of Dix;' and as this Board entertain a very high sense of the services rendered by Miss Dix in the

cause of the insane, — voted that they willingly accede to this suggestion ; and that the building for male patients at the Asylum be henceforth known as the Dix Ward.” This preamble and vote were unanimously adopted.

April 22, the Treasurer was instructed to close the separate account hitherto kept of the income of the Lee donations. The subject of the new buildings proposed at the Asylum was further discussed. April 29, Dr. Bell submitted plans and estimates for the erection of two buildings, according to the terms of Mr. Appleton’s donation ; and it was thereupon “voted that said plans be referred to the Building Committee, with authority to make such modifications thereof as they think proper, and to proceed at once in the erection of buildings according to said plans.” These plans were drawn up with much taste and judgment. They are for two-story buildings, about fifty feet square ; in their exterior resembling houses recently erected in Brookline by Messrs. J. D. Russell and F. Standish. These plans seemed to meet with the general approval of the Trustees.

May 8, this afternoon, his Excellency Governor Boutwell, with the Honorable the Board of Visitors, made the annual visitation. They were received by the President of the Corporation and the Chairman of the Trustees. It was a visit made in a simple,

informal manner, and seemed highly gratifying to all present. Nothing was the subject of unfavorable comment, except the Hospital fence.

On May 18, the Secretary laid before the Board the volume prepared by him, containing a record of all bequests to this institution. It is executed with great accuracy and elegance. June 2, the subject of the Hospital fence was referred to the Visiting Committee. June 17, fifteen hundred dollars was awarded as damages for land in Somerville taken by the Grand Junction Railroad and Depot Company.

At this meeting, the following letter from Miss D. L. Dix was read, and ordered to be entered on the records:—

“ St. John’s River, Florida East,
“ May 22.

“ DEAR SIR,— At this remote point and late date, your communication of April 18, addressed to Thomas Lee, Esq., has reached me. This will at once explain and apologize for a seemingly uncourteous delay in acknowledging the receipt of a copy of the preamble and vote which, by request of the Messrs. Lee, and unanimous assent of the Trustees of the General Hospital, gives my name to a department of that institution. Profoundly moved by a distinction so unexpected, I own, that, while I would ever avoid notoriety and popular applause,—while I would make the *cause* I labor to advance, and not myself, the centre of attention, I cannot but be as much gratified as I am honored by this evidence of esteem from those whose good opinion

is so kindly illustrated. The *name* which they have united to distinguish it must be my care to make more and more worthy the place assigned to it on the walls of that noble and Christian institution, which unfolds its portals to admit the sick and heavy-laden, which gives healing influences to many, and blessed protection to all who seek its shelter.

“ Very respectfully,

“ D. L. DIX.

“ To Marcus Morton, jun., Esq.

“ Secretary of the Massachusetts General Hospital.”

July 5, John P. Reynolds and Joshua J. Ellis were elected Medical House Pupils, and Thomas H. Gage and Albert F. Sawyer Surgical House Pupils, for the year ensuing. July 11, the Superintendent was “authorized to buy two dozen silver forks for use of the Hospital ;” also to cause the wooden sidewalk to be relaid. On July 15, the Chairman, Dr. Bell, and Mr. Tyler were appointed “a Committee to carry the Cochituate water to the Asylum, with full powers.” This measure, when consummated, will be found highly important to the health and comfort of our patients. The thanks of the Corporation are due to the Cochituate Water Board, and to the city of Boston, for the promptness with which this application was complied with. The stipulations required by the city of Charlestown for leave to lay the pipes through their streets (such as constructing six hydrants, &c.) were of so onerous a character, and the necessity of crossing flats owned by individuals whose consent

could not probably be in all instances obtained, seemed so objectionable, that the Committee were led to ask permission to introduce the water along the line of the Lowell Railroad. The liberality and courtesy with which this Corporation at once acceded to their request, while they lightened the immediate labors of the Committee, have placed our institution under great and lasting obligations. It is, indeed, quite doubtful whether this beneficial arrangement could otherwise have been carried into effect. — Mr. Tyler was authorized to employ a clerk at the Asylum, at a salary not exceeding three hundred dollars.

Among the most important changes of this final period of the Hospital-history, were the deaths of Dr. Hale and Dr. Fisher, and the retirement of Dr. Hayward. The stream of public liberality has still continued to flow towards the institution in an undiminished current. The munificent bequests of John Bromfield, John D. Williams, Benjamin R. Nichols, Henry Todd, and Dr. Charles W. Wilder, and the additional donation of Hon. William Appleton, amounting in all to one hundred and eight thousand dollars, have all occurred within the last four years. The precautions respecting varioloid, recommended for the future, will, it is hoped, prevent that disease from again spreading as extensively through the Hospital as it did a few months ago.

This compilation, itself designed as a slight commemoration of the benefactors of the institution, finds its appropriate close in the vote passed in honor of Miss Dix, and by her so gracefully and feelingly acknowledged. In all the annals of philanthropy, there is not to be found the record of a life of more active effort, unwearied self-denial, and entire devotedness, than hers. It is a gratifying reflection, that the first building erected in New England as an Asylum will henceforth bear the name of one who has so nobly earned for herself the title of the Friend of the Insane.

CHAPTER XI.

VISITS OF TRUSTEES: THEIR GREAT REGULARITY. — INCIDENTS AND ANECDOTES OF LIFE IN THE ASYLUM AND IN THE HOSPITAL. — DEATH OF A LITTLE ITALIAN BOY AND OF A FEMALE ATTENDANT.

A WEEKLY visit of a Committee of the Trustees has always been made with great regularity to both departments of the institution; only a dozen omissions having occurred in respect to each of them during this long period of years.

The following is believed to be a correct list of all these instances: —

AT THE ASYLUM.	AT THE HOSPITAL.
1. April 2, 1821.	1. Sept. 9, 1831.
2. Dec. 31, 1828.	2. April 12, 1833.
3. March 15, 1831.	3. Nov. 1, „
4. „ 22, „	4. Sept. 4, 1835.
5. June 7, „	5. Sept. 1, 1836.
6. Feb. 5, 1833.	6. Aug. 15, 1837.
7. Nov. 12, „	7. „ 22, „
8. January, 1834.	8. March 19, 1840.
9. July 14, 1835.	9. April 23, 1841.
10. Sept. 1, „	10. March 13, 1846.
11. Aug. 3, 1837.	11. Feb. 3, 1848.
12. „ 10, „	12. Jan. 19, 1849.
13. „ 24, „	

It may be remarked, that, during the three or four first years, at the Asylum, two visits were made every week, and sometimes even more; and that one or more of the Trustees have always been in the habit of visiting at the Hospital on other occasions, whenever inclined so to do. The supernumerary visits thus made at each institution have doubtless been much more numerous than the total of the above instances of omission. Indeed, it has happened, on no less than six occasions,* that the casual presence of another Trustee at the Hospital has saved the credit of the Visiting Committee. On examination of the foregoing list, it will be seen, that, while only two omissions occurred prior to 1831 (say during ten years for the Hospital, and fourteen for the Asylum), no less than five omissions occurred during one single month of the year 1837; and that, for the last thirteen years, not one omission of the weekly visit at the Asylum has occurred; a proof that the present Board of Trustees have at least discharged this part of their duties with great fidelity.

No Trustee of the Hospital can fail duly to appreciate the two choicest of life's blessings, a sound mind and a sound body. To more than one of those who have held that office, the sight of physical suffering

* March 23, 1844; March 28, 1846; Feb. 3 and March 31, 1849; March 23, 1850 (during a severe snow-storm); and in April, 1851.



Engraving from a sketch by S. J. S. J.

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Mr. Saml. Chapman for the Nashville, Tenn. Co.

and of mental alienation has rendered it so distasteful and painful as to lead to its speedy resignation; while others, in view of so much done to alleviate and remove those evils, find a visit to each of our institutions always agreeable, — sometimes even delightful.

At the M'Lean Asylum, for instance, one may see in summer five or six of our patients, with their scythes, mowing in as dexterous and orderly a manner as those employed in any farmer's field. We mingle without apprehension among five or six more, who, with axes, beetles, and wedges, are engaged in splitting wood. The billiard-table has its party of scientific and expert players. Many a spare ball is gained in the ninepin-alley. Lovers of whist are seen strictly observant of the rules of Hoyle; while others are entirely absorbed in the game of draughts, or in the deeper mysteries of chess. A circle of ladies are perhaps seated around their centre-table, with its vase of flowers, engaged in their favorite occupations of reading or needlework. Manly strength and female grace and beauty have alike, from time to time, made a temporary sojourn among us. Intellect of a very high order has here been restored to a healthy tone. The brilliant and varied plumage of the humming-bird has been traced by one of our inmates with a life-like truthfulness and delicacy not surpassed by the pencil

of Audubon. Flowers in wax have been executed by another with such a minute and exact imitation of nature as almost to deceive the senses, and lead the beholder to expect the perfume of the lily, the pink, or the rose. "Sir Walter Scott and his dog at Abbotsford," *in worsteds*, the handiwork and the gift of one of our patients, hangs beside the picture of John M'Lean. The exquisite voice of the singer, and the skilful touch of the musician, have been heard within our halls. There is much of serenity and cheerfulness among the convalescent; and, amid the occasional displays of melancholy and despair, or the vacant look of idiocy, which it is distressing to witness, the visitor's attention is agreeably attracted to an infinite variety of amusing and interesting eccentricities, which are either voluntarily displayed or easily drawn forth. Sallies of wit are uttered more keen and lively than are heard under the restraining influences of social life. Epithets are bestowed which, though sometimes discourteous, are often signally appropriate. A preternatural degree of shrewdness and cunning is sometimes manifested. We notice everywhere an almost entire personal freedom, and a pervading air of comfort and enjoyment, which make it difficult for one to imagine that he is in a mad-house.

The last quarter of a century has done much, very much, for the insane. It seems to me, that between

the restraints which were at first thought indispensable, and the present improved system of management, there is almost as wide a difference as our first patient must have felt when he found himself suddenly transferred from the cruel "flagellations" of home to the cautious and considerate, but kindly, care and treatment of Dr. Wyman.

A few anecdotes may serve to illustrate my own experience as a visitor at this department of our institution. A Trustee once asked a patient if she did not remember him, and said, "Does not my face look natural?" She replied, "Your face, sir, looks as natural as a natural *fool's*."—"Don't tell *me* about your not having time to hear my story. If you haven't, you ought to have. It is the very thing you were sent here for,"—was the equally unanswerable rejoinder of another patient to a Trustee who had attempted to escape from the repetition of his already twice-told tale. We once had a "glass" patient, who was afraid of being *broken*, and took curious precautions on account of his imaginary brittleness. Another thinks the air full of spirits, which get in at his ears, and, after making a great disturbance in his brain, come out at the roots of his hair. He kept his ears closed with his hands so long, that they remained, for a considerable period, bent forward, having lost their natural elasticity. Some personal

comments on his Excellency once disturbed the equanimity of the Honorable the Board of Visitors, at an annual visitation. — One of our oldest patients never utters two sentences together, no matter on what subject, without introducing at its close an ejaculation of great emphasis, followed by the words “Look out.” His speech is slow and distinct, but generally wholly incoherent. The right words do not come at his bidding. The following is a specimen: “I have a commission as justice of the peace, and an asparagus-bed. I like lightning best at a distance. Whoever puts his name on paper in the Wiscasset Bank has a mark on his forehead, and is worse off than if he was dining with one of the selectmen: — Look out.”

A young man who had been in a government-office in Canada came among us. For years and years he read a Latin dictionary, making critical comments in the margin of its leaves, and putting paper-marks in the book, almost as numerous as its pages. At last, back and covers became detached. Each leaf was separate. The whole, however, was always placed in an orderly pile. I asked him if he should not like a new dictionary. He said, “Yes.” I told him I would procure one. He insisted on paying for it. I gravely accepted his draft on his former employer, whose service he had left some dozen years before. At my next visit, I brought a copy of Leverett’s Lexicon. He was

highly pleased, but hesitated about using it till he was sure that his draft was accepted and paid. I told him, however, that this was a needless hesitation, as that would undoubtedly be "all right." He has read and re-read this volume, like its predecessor. Like that, it has its three or four hundred marks in it; but it has been preserved with most scrupulous nicety, though somewhat embellished by marginal annotations. He will always reply in Latin to any question asked him, though his language is not Ciceronian. Thus, to a question as to his health, he said, "Meus salus, Domine, est *tolerabilis*."

Another of our patients, an inveterate walker, actually trod down the grass into a pathway of the shape of a pair of mammoth suspenders; the button-holes at the ends being elaborated with great skill and care.

An inmate once said to Dr. Wyman, "I have you in my power. If you kill me, you'll be hung. But I can kill you with safety; for I am crazy, and therefore not responsible."—One patient fancied himself to be General Jackson, and received us with appropriate dignity and courtesy. He had also the whim of pronouncing all his vowels; thus, of course, often dividing words of one syllable into two. On being asked how he did, he replied, "I hav-e a-ches from the top of my he-ad to the ends of my to-es."

A Russian sailor, whose name alike defied chiro-

graphy and pronunciation, was styled on the books John Williams. Accustomed to a life of toil and active exertion, ennui and listlessness seemed to oppress his spirits. He was a perfect Hercules, and yet naturally gentle and amiable. When addressed by his fictitious name, however, his fury was at once aroused. He imagined that he was detained by mistake, instead of the veritable John Williams. I once inadvertently addressed him by that name. He immediately struck his fists together with tremendous force, and sprang to the door-way, effectually barring my egress from the room. My courage immediately sank to zero. A summary close of my official duties seemed to be at hand. But, fortunately, the Physician, with one glance of his eye and a few quiet words, readily soothed him. We were generally on quite a friendly footing. He had great skill and ingenuity, especially in plaiting straw. He once worked for me a little gift. It was a sad embodiment of his prevailing idea of a wrongful detention, — a little straw chain, with fetters at each end.

Another patient thought himself so large that he could not get out of the doors, and invariably kicked and struggled and bruised himself at each attempt of the attendants to get him through. The bruises thus received he always exhibited as a complete demonstration of his theory. — One inmate was overwhelmed

by the dreadful delusion that he was a convict under sentence of death, awaiting execution. He was so much distressed, that Dr. Wyman thought a full and free pardon from the executive might be a prescription worth administering. A document of that purport, with a large seal attached, was accordingly prepared, and delivered to him. It at first worked to a charm. But in a few days he became, if possible, more desponding than ever. "For," said he, "I have repeated the same offence, and nobody ever heard of a person being twice pardoned. I shall now certainly be hung."

An educated patient asked a Trustee to listen to some oratorical rehearsals. He immediately commenced his recitation. The assistant approached to listen. When the speaker came to the phrase, "and smote him thus," he suited the action to the words, and served the unsuspecting attendant exactly like his prototype of old, "the circumcised dog." I have had my book and pencil snatched from my hand by one of our inmates, who, before it could be recovered, broke the one, and tore the other to pieces. A patient, who, after the lapse of thirty years, is still with us, once aimed a blow, with a carpenter's hammer which he happened to pick up, at the head of Dr. Wyman, who was standing with his back towards him, and a step or two below him. It crushed through the crown of

his hat, and wounded his forehead, so that the blood flowed copiously. This patient, though generally harmless, I have heard express, with truly diabolical earnestness, the wish that he could have cut off the Superintendent's head, before he had drawn the first breath of life. A few years ago, a large jack-knife was found snugly concealed about his person, which he had probably also abstracted from a carpenter who had recently been at work.

A female, who had only been with us one day, broke a window, and, taking a triangular piece of the glass, concealed it in her hand, and came out and joined the Trustees and Dr. Bell. She watched her chance, and struck at the doctor's eye, but fortunately only slightly cut his cheek, just beneath it. — A patient, mad with delirium tremens, was brought to the institution. He was placed for a moment or two in a room where there was a bed ripped open, and in a process of being filled. He thrust into this bed a large horse-pistol, loaded with ball and primed. He was then forthwith removed to another apartment, nothing dangerous being found about him. The bed was finally filled up, and did service for a year or so; when one day this truly mysterious inmate was discovered. In view of these and similar incidents, a visitor cannot but feel a profound sentiment of wonder and admiration, alike at the entire fearlessness and

self-possession of the officers, and at the quiet harmlessness of those who might, as it would seem, destroy life in an instant.

We turn now to the Hospital for the sick. Its advantages have been enjoyed by all, — the highest and the humblest. Every class in the community, alluded to in the circular letter of 1810 as likely to need its aid, has received it. Every profession and occupation in life has, from time to time, here had its representative. It is seldom that there are not in this institution several interesting patients, particularly among the children and females. I have known six or eight little girls made forgetful for the moment of all their ailments, and perfectly happy by a few glass toys, which altogether did not cost more than fifty cents. Many a lesson of patient endurance may be learned at our visits. Many a bright vision recurs to my imagination, of sufferers who, by their truly Christian resignation and fortitude, through long, tedious months, warmly enlisted the sympathy and regard of all who saw them. By a general rule, incurable free-patients are, after a trial of three months, discharged to make room for cases of acute disease or recent accident. One free patient I recollect, a young girl who had been with us a year, hopelessly ill, and whom the Visiting Committee reluctantly discharged on this ground. She had no home, and was much distressed

at the thought of her desolate situation. One of our number told her that she might remain, as long as she pleased, a *pay*-patient, at his expense. She gladly availed herself of this offer, and died among us more than a year afterwards; having been uniformly cheerful, and always grateful beyond expression for the benefits which the institution had conferred upon her.

A young and delicate woman, a mother, the wife of a mechanic in this city, seeing her child, of a few years old, in danger of being run over by a heavily loaded truck, threw herself on the ground before the approaching wheel, and succeeded in snatching her infant from certain death; but had her own arm terribly crushed in this heroic act, performed under the divine impulse of maternal affection. Her case excited universal interest. Every thing was done to relieve her anxiety about her little ones at home, as well as to alleviate her own sufferings. She was at last discharged without any danger of permanent injury resulting from her accident. May filial gratitude and obedience in coming years be her fitting, her all-sufficient reward! The spirit of self-sacrifice, thus shown in a *humble* station, would have adorned the *highest*. Our institution may well rejoice that it had the opportunity of giving aid and relief to so deserving an inmate.

One face of surpassing loveliness comes back to my remembrance. A patient young in years, but who had borne a large share of the ills of life, was received among us. She had buried husband and child, and was herself soon to follow them, a victim to consumption. With features whose regularity and beauty I have seldom seen equalled, and a brunette-complexion through whose delicate tinge the hectic flush of disease was painfully visible, hers was always an expression of mingled vivacity and sweetness. No visitor could behold without emotion a being so bright and so graceful, standing all unconsciously on the very verge of the grave. She was poor; yet she did not remain many weeks in the Hospital. In a large ward there is unavoidably much to annoy and disturb an invalid. She longed for the loving presence of her who had cared for her childhood, for the quiet of her own home, "be it never so homely." And so she left us. But till her death she was attended, without charge, by one of the physicians of the institution; and the delicacies of the passing summer were daily procured for the gratification of one who was never to taste the fruits of another season. She was to the last a great sufferer.

"Beating heart and burning brow, ye are very patient now!"

One of the most distressing cases ever received within our walls was that of a lad from the Farm School.

He had playfully attempted to swing, by means of an iron hook suspended from the ceiling, over a large open vessel of boiling water set in brickwork. His hands were burned by the hook ; he involuntarily let go his hold, and fell into the water beneath ; and the whole lower part of his body was frightfully scalded. His mother, one of the most experienced of nurses, was constantly with him in an apartment separated from all the other patients. He lingered for some time, amid much pain and restlessness, till he was finally released. How vividly does that scene come again before me, — that remote room ; that unfortunate boy, thus dying, as it were, by inches ; and that devoted parent, who, through the wearisome days and the long nights, still hoped against hope, to be so grievously disappointed at last ! Amid all my varied experience in connection with the Hospital, I can recall nothing more harrowing at the time, or more sad in the remembrance. And yet there is a melancholy satisfaction in the thought, that I have seen even that poor boy's eyes lighted up by a momentary gleam of pleasure at some slight act done to afford him consolation or relief.

A sweet little girl of seven years old, picking up chips in a basket in the Maine Railroad enclosure, was run over by a train of cars, and had her foot cut off. It was after the ether-discovery. While her limb was in

the process of being amputated by the surgeons, visions of beauty and splendor seemed to pass before her mind's eye. She exclaimed, "What superb dresses! what elegant ear-rings!" After her limb was healed, I ascertained the time of a directors' meeting of the Maine Railroad, and took the child there to argue her own cause. In this instance at least, the maxim proved false, that "Corporations have no souls." They gave her case a kind and merciful consideration, granting three hundred dollars to be held in trust for her sole, personal use, at the discretion of the Superintendent and myself. Through the kindness of the Matron (Mrs. Girdler), it was even arranged that she should be allowed to live at the Hospital, to attend school in its vicinity, and finally become a seamstress in the establishment. A future of usefulness and happiness seemed secured for her. Her parents, however, were Irish. They over-persuaded her to return to them; at the same time, indeed, informing her that within twenty-four hours she would be hungry, cold, and dirty. That she left her adopted home was a source of deep regret to her protectors; but the trust specially assumed in her behalf will still be sacredly fulfilled.

One case is remembered which is probably unique in the history of the Hospital. An entire family, natives of Boston, husband and wife and three very

pleasing young daughters, were admitted into the institution. The father died there. The others all recovered from the fever by which they had been simultaneously attacked and prostrated. The convalescent daughters visiting their mother, still very ill, in a distant ward, and she in her turn carried down to the ward beneath her own to see and converse for a few moments with a dying husband, were circumstances alike novel and interesting.

Two sisters from Maine, — bright, blooming girls, — domestics in this city, were admitted as fever-patients, and placed in adjoining beds. One, becoming quite seriously ill, was removed to a different ward, lest the other should suffer from anxiety on her account. The remaining sister became convalescent. The attending physician, on making his visit, expressed his pleasure at seeing her so much better, and, alluding to her diet, said, “Now, what is there to-day that you would most wish to have?” She looked up at him with great earnestness, and replied, “What I most wish is, that I could see my mother.” A day or two afterwards, in answer to her earnest inquiries respecting her sister, she was inconsiderately told by one near her that her sister was dead. She was overwhelmed by the shock of this intelligence. A fatal relapse shortly afterwards ensued; not, however, — it is to hoped, — the result of this indiscretion.

A young and beautiful girl from Salem, that city of fair faces, was admitted, suffering intense pain in the ball of her foot. A local disease of the bone was finally developed; and amputation was resorted to. Her firmness and uncomplaining gentleness were beyond all praise. She possessed a native refinement that rendered her highly attractive. The disease re-appeared on her return home; and she died there, some months afterwards, exhausted by protracted sufferings. A message of grateful remembrance was sent by the dying one to her friends in our institution; who, on their part, will assuredly never forget her lovely person, her interesting manners, and her sad fate.

A young girl, the daughter of a German clergyman of this city, and a teacher in his Sunday-school, died among us, after a severe illness of but a few days. She was an edifying example of that equanimity and resignation with which the young and the happy are sometimes enabled to meet their approaching end. The funeral services were performed at the Hospital. There was quite a numerous attendance of her friends and fellow-worshippers. None could fail to be solemnly impressed by the touching and plaintive melody of their united voices, as they poured forth a hymn of sorrow and of triumph in their native tongue.

But there is also a cheerful side to the experiences of the Hospital. How delightful is it to see the pale cheek gradually regaining its color, and the feeble frame its strength; to witness the exhilaration of spirit resulting from returning health, the instantaneous relief from agony, the rescue from the very grasp of death! And joyful indeed to all beholders are the daily miracles of ether, that "sweet, oblivious antidote" to pain.

But a few years ago, and on one occasion of almost every week at the Hospital, deep groans of distress or sharp cries of agony penetrated into the innermost recesses of the building, and were often distinctly audible through the neighborhood. Now, the performance of the severest and gravest duties of the surgeon awakens only the faint murmur of a dreamy unconsciousness.

I will mention but one instance, perhaps as striking as the lapse of coming years can ever produce. A young lady was admitted with a tumor extending from the upper to the under surface of the tongue, which it had become necessary to extirpate. Dr. Hayward administered ether. A steel hook was then inserted into the tongue, to prevent its being withdrawn by any involuntary muscular movement. Next the tumor was cut out. To stop the effusion of blood, a red-hot iron was then passed three successive times

into the cavity, which was finally filled with a piece of sponge. The patient was then asked how she felt; and her reply was, "Very comfortable." She had known nothing of all that had been done. What would otherwise have been torture indescribable had been by her unfelt. In a few days, she was well enough to leave us.

One young girl, of about seventeen, was long confined by a tedious and discouraging complaint. She was a universal favorite, and was at last discharged, well. A year or two afterwards, I saw her standing at the altar, in a church brilliantly lighted, a bride in all the bloom of youth and of renovated health and beauty. A former House Physician was there with me. Her recollections of the Hospital were so agreeable that she wished to have it represented on this, the most joyous occasion of her life. She was certainly one of the most interesting of all the "graduates" of our institution.

Several years ago, I passed my summer-months in the country, being dependent on an omnibus for my daily ride into the city. I was the first passenger called for. On one occasion, we stopped at a neighboring house. A young Irish girl was assisted by two of her countrymen into the vehicle. She was suffering from acute rheumatism. I asked her where she was going. She said to the Hospital. To my several

questions, whether she had seen the Physician, or got any permit, and whether she had any means of paying her board, she replied in the negative. "How, then," said I, "do you expect to get into the Hospital?" She answered, "*I trust in Providence.*" Now, by a singular coincidence, it happened that no one in the whole county except myself had power to give her the desired admission. I at once determined to do so, and thus to justify the trust which she had so confidently expressed. When, therefore, I left the vehicle, I told the driver to take her directly to the Hospital, giving a few lines to the Admitting Physician, which secured her reception on a free bed. She was cured in a few weeks, and was always known as the "Providential Patient."

Such, and so varied, is the experience of a Trustee in the discharge of his official duties. I will close this review by the mention of two incidents which occurred in 1846, interesting in themselves, and brought peculiarly within my notice as a member of the Visiting Committee. Of one of them I inserted the following account in a newspaper of the day:— "Died, at the Massachusetts General Hospital, July 25, after a painful illness of ten months, Angelo Lathwer, aged fifteen years. He was a small, interesting Italian lad, who had exhibited a white mouse in London, and afterwards in this city. Separated from

home and kindred, his patience and gentleness won the regard of strangers. The sympathy of the officers and of the inmates of the institution showed itself in various little attentions and acts of kindness. One of the Trustees gave him a number of a recent English publication, which contained a representation of himself exhibiting a white mouse. He contemplated it with as much gratified ambition as Napoleon would have felt on viewing an engraving of the battle of Austerlitz. The day before he died, a beautiful, young white mouse was found in the garden of the Hospital, and brought to Angelo. He was delighted. The bitterness of death was for the moment forgotten. The night which followed was solemn and melancholy to all his fellow-sufferers, as they listened to his touching ejaculations: 'I cannot die! I am afraid to die! I want my mother!' But the weary one was soon to be at rest; —

'For when the morn came, dim and sad,
And chill with early showers,
His quiet eyelids closed: he had
Another morn than ours.' "

One of the attendants at the Hospital, a young girl with a sunny face, a kind heart, and agreeable manners, the very picture of health and beauty, was, in the spring of the same year, attacked by a cough, which, in a few weeks, was ascertained to be attended with disease of the lungs. She did not wish to go to her dis-

tant home. She declined availing herself of the opportunity of breathing the purer air of a neighboring country-town. She preferred to die among those who, for the several last years, had been her companions, and amid the scenes of her recent labors. The Trustees, at the close of the quarter, directed that she should be paid in full; though, for the last half of the time, she had been wholly unable to perform her duties. I witnessed her gratitude at this expression of interest on the part of the Board. On the morning of the fourth of July, I left the gay and happy scenes of the Floral Festival at the Warren-street Chapel, and walked to the Hospital to see her. She had just died.* The companions who, throughout her illness, had watched over her with the utmost tenderness and assiduity, had now completed their sad offices. She was clad in the white robes of death. Grapes, which were to be tasted by other lips than hers, lay upon the table. Flowers were there, to whose fragrance she was insensible. All traces of suffering and illness had passed away from her countenance, which had resumed its habitual serenity. The struggles of worn and exhausted nature were at last over. She rested—

* The close of her brief and blameless career was thus chronicled in the records of the Visiting Committee:—"Emeline Wright died of consumption on the 4th instant, aged twenty-four, after an illness of about three months. She had been for several years an attentive and faithful nurse in the institution."

“—— as sweetly as a child,
Whom neither thought disturbs nor care encumbers,
Tired with long play, at close of summer-day
Lies down, and slumbers.”

We gathered around her bedside in silence. The scene formed a truly striking contrast with that which I had just left. But it was not a painful one. “For,” thought I, “what more could have been done for that poor girl, even by the hands of sisters beneath the domestic roof? Truly, on this occasion at least, the Hospital has well performed its mission of kindness and love.”

As this page was passing through the press, there died a young woman, twenty-one years of age, who, a few months since, was brought to the Hospital, burnt by the breaking a camphene lamp, in an assault committed upon her in a house of ill repute where she was an inmate. On her bed of pain, she had leisure to reflect on her former life. The retrospect filled her with horror. Severe as were her physical sufferings, they were as nothing to the agonies of her awakened conscience. To her the past had become hateful; the present was full of anguish and distress; and the future held out no promise. Young as she was, life and all its opportunities had passed irrevoca-

bly away. She died in the Hospital; and yet the last moments of that poor, degraded Magdalen were soothed and cheered by words and acts of encouragement and compassion, such as the world seldom accords to its fallen children. To her contrite spirit may they have proved a foretaste of that Father's mercy which she so deeply needed and so earnestly sought!

“ Were not the sinful Mary's tears
An offering worthy Heaven,
When o'er the faults of former years
She wept, and was forgiven? ” *

* About a week ago, she expressed the desire to return to the house from which she came. This circumstance might perhaps awaken a doubt as to the sincerity of her repentance. It is, however, more charitable to believe that she merely wished, before her death, again to see those for whom, abandoned as they were, she still felt a lingering attachment.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MEMBERS OF THE CORPORATION. — LIST OF TRUSTEES. — REMARKS AND ANECDOTES. — LIST OF OFFICERS. — LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS. — SUMMARY OF THE SAME TO 1843. — ENLARGEMENT OF HOSPITAL IN 1844. — FREE-BED SUBSCRIPTION LIST. — LEGACIES, DONATIONS, AND DEVISES. — RECEIPTS FROM LIFE OFFICE, &c. — GRAND SUMMARY OF ALL THESE DONATIONS. — TABLES OF ADMISSIONS AND DISCHARGES AT THE ASYLUM AND AT THE HOSPITAL. — CONCLUDING REMARKS.

THE Act of Incorporation names as members the following fifty-five gentlemen : —

Adams, John	Fowler, Samuel
Adams, John Q.	Gerry, Elbridge
Amory, Jonathan	Gore, Christopher
Amory, Thomas C.	Gray, William
Bowdoin, James	Greene, Benjamin
Bridge, Matthew	Hallowell, Robert
Brown, Samuel	Harris, Jonathan
Bussey, Benjamin	Hazard, Thomas, jun.
Cabot, George	Heath, William
Childs, Timothy	Hill, Aaron
Coolidge, Joseph	Jones, John Coffin
Craigie, Andrew	Kilham, Daniel
Crowninshield, Benj. W.	King, William
Cutts, Thomas	Kirkland, John Thornton
Dana, Samuel	Kittredge, Thomas
Davis, Jonathan	Lincoln, Levi
Dawes, Thomas	Lowell, John
Dearborn, Henry	Mann, James
Derby, Elias Hasket	Melville, Thomas
Eustis, William	Morton, Perez

Otis, Harrison Gray	Spring, Marshall
Parker, Isaac	Story, Joseph
Parsons, Theophilus	Sullivan, Richard
Payne, William	Tilden, David
Perkins, James	Varnum, Joseph B.
Perkins, Thomas H.	Warren, John
Phillips, William	Welles, Arnold.
Prince, James	

It is believed, that, of these fifty-five, only three, Thomas H. Perkins, Richard Sullivan, and Timothy Childs, are now living.

The right to elect members has been but very rarely exercised. Six of the gentlemen constituting the first Board of Trustees were chosen members, to make them eligible to that office (1818):—

Barnard, Tristram	May, Joseph
Bradford, Gamaliel	Sargent, Daniel
Lee, George G.	Sullivan, John L.

In June, 1825, were chosen —

Edes, Robert B. . . . }
 Tilden, Bryant P. . . } through whom the donation of a mummy
 Van Lennep, Jacob, } had been made ;

Swett, Samuel, to render him eligible as a Trustee ; and

Wyman, Rufus, Dr., Superintendent of the M'Lean Asylum, who was already a member by a donation of over a hundred dollars.

In June, 1827, two members were elected, —

Bowditch, Nathaniel, who was Actuary of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company ;

Codman, Henry, to render him eligible as a Trustee.

It is believed that not a single member has been since elected, say for a period of twenty-five years. All, however, who have served as Trustees of the institution are, by a subsequent vote, made members ; also all donors to the amount of a hundred dollars and upwards. Those who have become members in this latter mode will be found in the alphabetical list of donors. The following is an alphabetical list of the Trustees of the Institution : —

Amory, Charles
 Andrews, William T.
 Appleton, Samuel
 Appleton, William
 Armstrong, Samuel T.
 Barnard, Tristram
 Belknap, John
 Bond, George
 Bowditch, N. I.
 Bradford, Gamaliel
 Brimmer, Martin
 Bullard, William S.
 Chadwick, Ebenezer
 Chapman, Jonathan
 Codman, Henry
 Coolidge, Joseph
 Curtis, Thomas B.
 Dale, William J.
 Dexter, George M.
 Edmands, J. Wiley
 Edwards, Henry
 Eliot, Samuel A.
 Francis, Ebenezer
 Gardiner, William H.
 Gray, Francis C.

Greene, Benjamin D.
 Greene, Gardiner
 Guild, Benjamin
 Hallet, George
 Head, Joseph
 Higginson, Stephen, jun.
 Hooper, Robert, jun.
 Jackson, Patrick T.
 Lamb, Thomas
 Lawrence, Abbott
 Lawrence, Amos
 Lawrence, Amos A.
 Lawrence, Samuel
 Lee, George G.
 Loring, Charles G.
 Lowell, Francis C.
 Lowell, Francis C.
 Lowell, John
 Lowell, John A.
 Lyman, Theodore, jun.
 May, Joseph
 Mills, Charles H.
 Oliver, Francis J.
 Otis, William F.
 Parker, Daniel P.

Perkins, Thomas H.	Stone, William W.
Phillips, Jonathan	Storow, Chas. S.
Prescott, William H.	Sturgis, William
Quincy, Josiah	Sullivan, John L.
Quincy, Josiah, jun.	Sullivan, Richard
Robbins, Dr. Edward H.	Swett, Samuel
Rogers, Henry B.	Thorndike, John P.
Sargent, Daniel	Ticknor, George
Sargent, Ignatius	Tilden, Joseph
Sears, David	Tuckerman, Edward
Shaw, J. Howland	Ward, Thomas W.
Shaw, Robert G.	Wigglesworth, Edward.
Stevenson, J. Thomas	

On this list of Trustees will be found the names of two individuals who, as authors, have acquired a European reputation in the respective departments of history and of Spanish literature ; one President, three Treasurers, and four other Fellows, of Harvard College ; one minister to the Court of St. James ; two members of Congress ; one Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, and no less than six mayors of Boston ; the two fathers of American manufactures, — the late noble-spirited Patrick T. Jackson, and the late Francis C. Lowell, whose name has been conferred upon our manufacturing emporium ; and also one who, in his day, was the head of the Suffolk Bar, and afterwards the most scientific agriculturist of the Commonwealth. Associated with these are found many of our wealthiest and most liberal merchants, — Mr. Sears, Col. Perkins, and others. It will not, I am

sure, be thought invidious if mention is made of two of these as our “Brothers Cheeryble,”—Samuel Appleton and Amos Lawrence, so generally known and so universally respected as among the most amiable and benevolent of our citizens. Both have been the architects of their own fortunes. Mr. Appleton tells a humorous story, that, when a young man, he kept a school, during the winter-months, in a country-town, where he *was put up at auction*, to be boarded out in the family that would consent to take him at the lowest rate. Mr. Lawrence tells an equally good story of the small shop first opened by himself and his brother, and of a purchase of some trifling article once made by a sailor, who was so pleased with his bargain that he returned in a few days with several of his messmates, and began spelling out the sign-boards in the street, at last exclaiming with a loud voice, as the modest sign of which he was in search met his eye, “That’s it, *A. and A. Lawrence* ; that’s the place ;” an instance of humble patronage which at the time was more gratifying than the most brilliant success that has ever crowned the enterprise and industry of a firm now known throughout the commercial world. The former, in advanced age, and unable to walk from his house, continues, in the highest and best sense, to enjoy life. He has, indeed, no children ; but a numerous band of nephews and nieces look up

to him with truly filial regard. Indeed, the community itself ventures to apply to him *their* familiar and affectionate appellation of "Uncle Sam." This name, in the abstract so dear to every patriot, could not be more worthily bestowed. The latter, also for some years past an invalid, and unable to attend at all to business, is yet at heart as young as ever, finding leisure and strength for innumerable good works and kind offices. He, too, has thus won from the public a corresponding title of respect and regard. Everybody loves "Uncle Amos," and he loves everybody. He is particularly fond of the young. For a considerable time, and at a cost, doubtless, of several thousand dollars, he defrayed the entire expenses of a private Hospital for children, under the charge of his son, Dr. W. R. Lawrence. On a bright winter's day, he was passing a primary school just as recess began. One of the little girls cried out, "How I should like a sleigh-ride!" He at once filled his vehicle with as many of them as could get into it. In my visits at the Asylum, I occasionally find that, as an amateur, he has preceded me. Mr. Lawrence is the elder brother of Hon. Abbott Lawrence, who, high as is his present official station, has gained a yet prouder distinction as founder of the scientific school of Harvard College.

OFFICERS OF THE HOSPITAL

FROM ITS FOUNDATION.

PRESIDENTS.

William Phillips	from 1814 . . through 1826 . .	13 years.
Thomas H. Perkins . . .	from 1826 . . through 1827 . .	2 „
John Lowell	from 1828 . . to Jan. 1830 . .	2 „
Gardiner Greene .	from June, 1830 . . through 1832 . .	3½ „
Joseph Head	from 1833 . . through 1835 . .	3 „
Ebenezer Francis	1836	1 „
Edward Tuckerman . . .	from 1837 . . through 1843 . .	7 „
William Appleton	from 1844 . . through 1851 . .	8 „

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Samuel Parkman . . .	elected 1814	and declined serving.
James Perkins	1815 . died Aug. 1822 . .	7½ yrs.
Thomas H. Perkins . . .	from 1823 . . to June, 1826 . .	3½ „
John Lowell . . .	from June, 1826 . . to June, 1829 . .	3 „
Gardiner Greene .	from „ 1829 . . to June, 1830 . .	1 „
Joseph Head . . .	from „ 1830 . . through 1832 . .	2½ „
Ebenezer Francis	from 1833 . . through 1835 . .	3 „
Samuel Appleton	1836	1 „
Jonathan Phillips	from 1837 . . through 1845 . .	9 „
Theodore Lyman	1846 . . died in 1849 . .	4 „
Robert Hooper	from 1850 . . through 1851 . .	2 „

TREASURERS.

James Prince	1813 . died Feb. 1821 . .	8½ yrs.
William Cochran . . .	Feb. 28, 1821 . died in 6 months .	½ „
N. P. Russell	Sept. 14, 1821 . . through 1834 . .	13¼ „
Henry Andrews	from 1835 . . through 1851 . .	17 „

SECRETARIES.

Richard Sullivan	from 1811 . . through 1816 . .	6 years.
Henry Codman	from 1817 . . through 1826 . .	10 „
N. I. Bowditch	from 1827 . . to June, 1836 . .	9½ „
William Gray	from June, 1836 . . through 1841 . .	5½ „
Marcus Morton, jun.	from 1842 . . through 1851 . .	10 „

TRUSTEES.

Thomas H. Perkins	from 1813 . . through 1818 . .	6 years.
Josiah Quincy	from 1813 . . through 1820 . .	8 „
Daniel Sargent	from 1813 . . through 1821 . .	9 „
Joseph May	from 1813 . to Nov. 5, 1826,	
	nearly	14 „
Stephen Higginson, jun.	from 1813 . . through 1815 . .	3 „
Gamaliel Bradford	from 1813 . . through 1823 . .	11 „
Tristram Barnard	from 1813 . . through 1818 . .	6 „
George G. Lee	from 1813 . . through 1816 . .	4 „
Francis C. Lowell	from 1813 . . through 1815 . .	3 „
Joseph Tilden	from 1813 . . through 1815 . .	3 „
John L. Sullivan	from 1813 . . through 1816 . .	4 „
Richard Sullivan	from 1813 . . through 1822 . .	10 „
Jonathan Phillips	from 1816 . . to July, 1832 . .	16½ „
John Lowell	from 1816 . . through 1819 . .	4 „
Joseph Coolidge	from 1816 . . through 1831 . .	16 „
David Sears	from 1817 . . through 1819 . .	3 „
Eben Francis, part of 1817 ;		
chosen by Corporation, 1818		
(resigned for part of 1820) :	through 1831 say 14	„
Peter C. Brooks	elected 1819	but declined serving.
Joseph Head, elected by Trus-		
tees in 1819 ; by Corporation, 1820 . . to June, 1829 . .		8½ yrs.
Thomas W. Ward, elected by		
Trustees in 1819 ; by Corpo-		
ration, 1820	through 1823 . .	4 „

Samuel Appleton, elected by

Trustees in October, 1819;

by Corporation, 1820	to Dec. 1822 . .	3 years.
John Belknap	from 1820 . . through 1822 . .	3 ,,
Daniel P. Parker	from 1821 . to July 26, 1825 . .	4 $\frac{1}{2}$,,
Theodore Lyman, jun.	from 1822 . to July 26, 1825 . .	3 $\frac{1}{2}$,,
Benjamin Guild	from 1823 . . to Jan. 1834 . .	11 ,,
William H. Prescott	from 1823 . to July 26, 1825 . .	2 $\frac{1}{2}$,,
Gardiner Greene	from 1823 . . to July, 1830 . .	7 $\frac{1}{2}$,,
Samuel Swett	from May, 1823 . . to July, 1826 . .	3 $\frac{1}{6}$,,
Edward Tuckerman	from 1824 . . through 1836 . .	13 ,,
George Ticknor	from July, 1826 . . to July, 1830 . .	4 ,,
Edward H. Robbins from	1826 . . through 1834 . .	9 $\frac{1}{2}$,,
William Sturgis	from . . 1826 . . to July, 1827 . .	1 ,,
Amos Lawrence	from Dec. 5, 1826 . to Feb. 26, 1831 . .	5 $\frac{1}{4}$,,
P. T. Jackson	from July, 1827 . . to July, 1828 . .	1 ,,
Henry Codman	from . . 1827 . . to Jan. 1835 . .	7 $\frac{1}{2}$,,
Wm. H. Gardiner	from . . 1828	1 ,,
Francis C. Gray	from . . 1829 . to Oct. 30, 1836 . .	7 $\frac{1}{4}$,,
Josiah Quincy, jun. from	1830 . . through 1836 . .	6 $\frac{1}{2}$,,
Benj. D. Greene from Aug. 26, 1830	to Oct. 8, 1833 . .	3 ,,
James Bowdoin, elected Aug. 1830	declined serving.	
Heman Lincoln, elected . Jan. 1831	declined serving.	
George Bond, elected . . Feb. 1831 . died May 23, 1842	11 $\frac{1}{4}$ yrs.	
George Hallet, elected . . July, 1831 . . through 1833 . .	2 $\frac{1}{2}$,,	
Thomas W. Ward, re-elected . 1832	and declined serving.	
Abbott Lawrence	from July, 1832 . . through 1835 . .	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ yrs.
Francis J. Oliver	from 1833 . . through 1835 . .	3 ,,
Samuel A. Eliot	from 1834 . . through 1838 . .	5 ,,
Charles G. Loring	from 1834 . . through 1837 . .	4 ,,
Rufus Wyman	1835 . elected and declined serving.	
Thomas B. Curtis	from 1835 . . through 1838 . .	4 years.
Charles Amory	from 1836 . . through 1847 . .	12 ,,
Henry Edwards	from 1836 . . through 1845 . .	10 ,,
Samuel Lawrence	from 1836 . . through 1838 . .	3 ,,
Robert G. Shaw	from 1836 . . through 1838 . .	3 ,,

John P. Thorndike	from 1836 . . through 1837 . .	2 years.
Martin Brimmer	from 1837 . . through 1842 . .	6 „
Robert Hooper, jun.	from 1837 . . through 1849 . .	13 „
N. I. Bowditch	from 1837 . . through 1851 . .	15 „
William Appleton	from 1838 . . through 1841 . .	4 „
Thomas Lamb	from 1838 . . through 1851 . .	14 „
George M. Dexter	from 1839 . . through 1851 . .	13 „
Francis C. Lowell	from 1839 . . through 1851 . .	13 „
Henry B. Rogers	from 1839 . . (omitting 1840)	
	through 1851 . .	12 „
Ebenezer Chadwick	from 1840 . . through 1842 . .	3 „
Ignatius Sargent	1841	1 „
William T. Andrews	from 1842 . . through 1847 . .	6 „
Jonathan Chapman	1843	1 „
William F. Otis	1843	1 „
John A. Lowell	from 1843 . . through 1850 . .	8 „
Charles S. Storrow	from 1844 . . through 1845 . .	2 „
Edward Wigglesworth	from 1844 . . through 1851 . .	8 „
William W. Stone	1846	1 „
J. Wiley Edmands	from 1847 . . through 1848 . .	2 „
J. Thomas Stevenson	from 1846 . . through 1851 . .	6 „
Charles H. Mills	from 1848 . . through 1851 . .	4 „
Amos A. Lawrence	from 1848 . . through 1851 . .	4 „
William S. Bullard	from 1849 . . through 1851 . .	3 „
G. Howland Shaw	from 1850 . . through 1851 . .	2 „
William J. Dale	1851	1 „

CHAIRMEN OF THE TRUSTEES.

Thomas H. Perkins	1818	1 year.
Joseph May	1819 . . to Nov. 1826 . .	8 „
Joseph Head	Dec. 5, 1826 . . to July, 1829 . .	2½ „
Ebenezer Francis	July, 1829 . . to July, 1831 . .	2 „
Edward Tuckerman	July, 1831 . . to Feb. 1835 . .	3½ „
George Bond	from Feb. 1835 . . to May, 1842 . .	7¼ „
Robert Hooper, jun.	June 19, 1842 . . to Jan. 1850 . .	7½ „
N. I. Bowditch	1850 . . through 1851 . .	2 „

SUPERINTENDENTS OF HOSPITAL.

Capt. Nathl. Fletcher,	April 21, 1821 . died May 1, 1825 .	4 years.
Nathan Gurney . . .	June 12, 1825 . . . to Nov. 1833 .	8 ,,
Gamaliel Bradford .	Oct. 11, 1833 . died Oct. 23, 1839 .	6 ,,
Charles Sumner . . .	Dec. 17, 1839 . to Mar. 21, 1841 .	$2\frac{1}{4}$,,
John M. Goodwin .	March 21, 1841 . . to Nov. 2, 1845 .	$4\frac{1}{2}$,,
Richard Girdler . . .	Nov. 16, 1845 to 1852 .	6 ,,

PHYSICIANS OF ASYLUM.

Dr. George Parkman, condi-		
tionally elected Oct. 4, 1816	never served.	
Dr. Rufus Wyman, March 23, 1818 .	to May 31, 1835 .	17 years.
Dr. Thomas G. Lee, chosen		
. Jan. 16, 1835 . .	died Oct. 1836 .	2 ,,
Dr. Luther V. Bell . Dec. 11, 1836	to 1852 .	15 ,,

STEWARDS, &c. OF ASYLUM.

John M. Goodwin . .	Nov. 23, 1823 . . to June 4, 1826 .	$2\frac{1}{2}$ yrs.
G. W. Folsom	died in Oct. 1827 .	1 ,,
Henry Pierce	Oct. 9, 1827 . office abolished,	
	Nov. 11, 1828 .	1 ,,
Oliver V. Bond (as supervisor),		
. Nov. 23, 1828 . .	to Oct. 5, 1830 .	2 ,,
Columbus Tyler (as supervi-		
. sor), Oct. 8, 1830		
Luke Bigelow, chosen Oct. 3, 1832 .	to March 9, 1834	} 4 ,,
,, ,, ,, May 18, 1834 .	to Nov. 23, 1836	
William Wyman . . .	Dec. 2, 1834	2 mos.
Columbus Tyler . . .	Jan. 16, 1835	to 1852 . 16 years.

ATTENDING PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS AT HOSPITAL.

Dr. James Jackson . .	April 6, 1817 . . to Oct. 13, 1837 .	20½ yrs.
„ John C. Warren . „	6, 1817 to 1852 .	34 „
„ Walter Channing .	Oct. 4, 1821 to Jan. 1839 .	17¼ „
„ John B. Brown .	Nov. 23, 1823 . to Feb. 26, 1826 .	2¼ „
„ George Hayward, March	19, 1826 (first chosen	
	assistant-surgeon; then	
	junior, Feb. 21, 1830;	
	then chief, Jan. 1838) to April, 1851 .	25 yrs.
„ Edward Reynolds, Aug. 3,	1828 . . to April 7, 1829 .	8 mos.
„ George W. Otis . „	3, 1828 . to new organiza-	
	tion in Feb. 1830 .	1½ year.
„ John Ware, assistant, Sept.	27, 1829; and resigned	
	July 8, 1836; chosen	
	Feb. 10, 1839 and served 1 year .	8 „
„ Jacob Bigelow . .	July 8, 1836 to 1852 .	15 „
„ Enoch Hale . . .	Oct. 13, 1837 . . died Nov. 1848 .	11 „
„ Solomon D. Townsend,		
	February, 1839 to 1852 .	13 „
„ J. B. S. Jackson .	Jan. 22, 1840 to 1852 .	12 „
„ H. I. Bowditch . „	28, 1846 to 1852 .	6 „
„ John D. Fisher . „	28, 1846 . died March, 1850 .	5 „
„ O. W. Holmes . „	28, 1846 . . to end of 1849 .	4 „
„ H. J. Bigelow . „	28, 1846 to 1852 .	6 „
„ Samuel Parkman „	28, 1846 to 1852 .	6 „
„ J. Mason Warren „	28, 1846 to 1852 .	6 „
„ D. H. Storer	Jan. 1849 (in place of Dr. Hale)	3 „
„ G. C. Shattuck, jun. „	1850 („ „ Dr. Holmes)	2 „
„ M. S. Perry . . .	March, 1850 („ „ Dr. Fisher)	2 „
„ Henry G. Clark . „	1851 („ „ Dr. Hay-	
	ward)	1 „

LIST OF ORIGINAL SUBSCRIBERS

OF ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS AND UPWARDS.

Prepared by Joseph May, Esq. in 1828; continued by Henry B. Rogers, Esq. to July 10, 1843; those marked (*) having been added by Mr. Rogers.

Adams, Benjamin and Caleb	\$100.00
Allen, Joseph	100.00
Amory, Hannah R.	100.00
Amory, John	200.00
Amory, Jonathan	200.00
Andrews, Ebenezer T.	300.00
Appleton, Nathan	500.00
Appleton, Samuel	2000.00
*Appleton, William, for himself	100.00
Appleton, William, for an unknown	200.00
*Armstrong, Samuel T.	100.00
Austin, Nathaniel	100.00
Babcock, Adam	300.00
Baker, Brown, and Co.	100.00
Baldwin, Aaron	110.00
Barnard, Charles	100.00
Bartlett, John	100.00
Bartlett, Thomas	300.00
Bean, Stephen	100.00
Belknap, Jeremiah	100.00
Belknap, John	100.00
Bellows, John	100.00
Binney, Amos	300.00
Bishop, John	100.00
Blake, George	100.00
Bond, George	180.00
Boott, Kirk, and Sons	300.00
Boott, Mary	300.00
Bradbury, Charles	100.00

Bradford, Gamaliel	\$100.00
Bradlee, Josiah	200.00
Bradlee, Thomas D.	100.00
Bridge, Nathan	100.00
Brimmer, Andrew	100.00
*Brown, Moses	100.00
Brown, Samuel	100.00
Bryant, John	100.00
Bumstead, Thomas	125.00
Bussey, Benjamin	1000.00
Cabot, George	100.00
Cabot, John	150.00
Cabot, Sarah and Susan	100.00
Cabot, William	100.00
Carnes, Francis	200.00
Chamberlain, Richard	100.00
Channing, Walter	100.00
Channing, William E.	100.00
Chapman, Henry	100.00
Chelsea, town of	145.42
Child, David W.	100.00
Cobb, Samuel	200.00
Cochran, William	100.00
Codman, Charles R.	100.00
Coffin, Margaret (and Ann Smith)	100.00
Collections in Ward 4	340.00
Collections in Ward 10	373.00
Coolidge, Joseph	2000.00
Coolidge, Joseph, jun.	1000.00
Cordis, Thomas	100.00
Cotting, Uriah	100.00
Crocker, Allen	100.00
*Crowninshield, Benjamin W.	200.00
Crowninshield, George	500.00
Curtis, Thomas	100.00
*Cushing, John P.	5000.00
Cushing, Thomas, a share in Exchange Coffee House, worth	300.00
Dall, William	100.00

Dana, Benjamin	\$100.00
*Dane, Nathan	200.00
Davis, Amasa	100.00
*Davis, A. and C.	150.00
Davis, Charles	100.00
Davis, Daniel	100.00
Davis, Eleanor	200.00
Davis, Joshua	100.00
Davis, Thomas	100.00
Davis, William	150.00
*Dearborn, H. A. S.	150.00
Degrad, P. P. F.	175.00
Dennie, Thomas	100.00
Derby, John	300.00
Derby, Richard	100.00
Derby, Richard C.	300.00
Devereux, Humphrey	100.00
Dexter, Aaron	100.00
Dexter, Katharine	100.00
Dodge, Pickering	300.00
Dorr, John	110.00
Dorr, Samuel	100.00
Eliot, Catherine	200.00
Ellery, John S.	100.00
Ellis, David	100.00
Endicott, Samuel	100.00
*Exhibition of Mummy	1257.87
Fales, Samuel	100.00
Farley, Ebenezer	125.00
Female Association	753.08
Field, Joseph	100.00
Fisher, Joshua	100.00
Forrester, Simon	2000.00
Francis, Ebenezer	200.00
French, John	100.00
French and Weld	120.00
Gardiner, Robert H.	200.00
Gardner, Samuel P.	100.00
Gibson, Abraham	100.00

Goddard, Nathaniel	\$200.00
Gore, John	200.00
Gray, Francis C.	100.00
Gray, Henry	1000.00
*Gray, Horace	1000.00
Gray, John C.	100.00
*Gray, John C.	300.00
Gray, William	500.00
Greene, Gardiner, \$1000 in three per cents	650.00
Greenough, David	200.00
Greenough, David S.	200.00
*Hall, Dudley	200.00
Hammond, Samuel	200.00
Hancock, John	200.00
*Harvard College	213.32
Hayward, Lemuel	100.00
Head, Joseph	1000.00
Head, Joseph, jun.	100.00
Heard, Augustine	100.00
Hedge, Barnabas	150.00
Hinckley, David	1000.00
Hingham, Third Parish	504.44
Holland, John	200.00
Homer, Benjamin P.	100.00
Homes, Henry	100.00
Howe, John	100.00
Hubbard, Henry	100.00
Hubbard, John	200.00
Humane Society of Massachusetts	5140.56
Humane Society (Merrimack)	2000.00
Hunnewell, Jonathan	100.00
Hurd, John	100.00
Hurd, Joseph	200.00
Jackson, Charles	400.00
Jackson, James	420.00
Jackson, Patrick T.	220.00
Jaques, Samuel, jun.	100.00
Jones, John Coffin	500.00
Jones, Thomas Kilby	200.00

Joy, Abigail and family	\$300.00
Joy, Benjamin	250.00
Kidder, John, jun.	100.00
Knapp, Josiah	100.00
Knowles, Seth	100.00
Lambert, William	100.00
Lawrence, Amos and Abbott	200.00
Lawrence, William	100.00
Lee, Francis	100.00
Lee, George	150.00
Lee, Joseph	300.00
Lee, Thomas, jun.	100.00
Lewis, Winslow	100.00
Lincoln and Wheelwright	100.00
Lloyd, James	1000.00
Loring, Caleb	100.00
Lowell, Francis C.	300.00
*Lowell, Francis C.	100.00
Lowell, John	450.00
Lyman, George W.	150.00
Lyman, Theodore	2000.00
Lyman, Theodore, jun.	150.00
Marshall, Josiah	100.00
Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society	900.00
May, Perrin	100.00
May, Samuel	100.00
Miller, Samuel R.	100.00
Minot, William	100.00
Morse, John	100.00
Motley, Thomas	100.00
Munson, Israel	1000.00
*Oakes, Caleb	100.00
Odin, John	200.00
Odiorne, George	100.00
Orne, Joseph	200.00
Orne, Samuel	200.00
Osborn, John	200.00
Otis, H. G.	500.00
Parker, Daniel P.	500.00

Parker, John	\$500.00
Parkman, Samuel	2000.00
Parkman, Samuel, jun.	200.00
Parsons, Nehemiah	200.00
Parsons, William	1500.00
Payne, M.	100.00
Payne, William	100.00
Peabody, Joseph	2000.00
Perkins, James	5000.00
Perkins, Samuel G.	100.00
Perkins, Thomas H.	5000.00
Perry, John	100.00
Phillips, John	100.00
Phillips, Jonathan	100.00
Phillips, Stephen	200.00
Phillips, Wm., including \$5000 legacy of his father	20,000.00
Pickering, Henry	100.00
Pickman, Benjamin, jun.	1000.00
Pickman, Dudley L.	150.00
Pickman, William	300.00
Pope, Paschal P.	100.00
Pratt, John	135.00
Pratt, William	400.00
Prescott, William	150.00
Prince, James	250.00
Prince, John	200.00
Quincy, Josiah	200.00
Rand, Isaac	100.00
Randall, John	100.00
Reed, John T.	100.00
Revere, Paul	100.00
Revere, Joseph W.	100.00
Rice, Henry G.	100.00
Rich, Benjamin	300.00
Richards, John	100.00
Ritchie, Andrew	500.00
Robinson, Nathan	200.00
Rogers, Daniel D.	1000.00
*Ropes, William	150.00

Russell, Nathaniel P.	\$500.00
Salisbury, Samuel	500.00
Salisbury, Samuel, jun.	100.00
Sanford, Samuel	300.00
Sargent, Daniel	200.00
*Sargent, Ignatius	400.00
Sawyer, William	100.00
Sears, David	5000.00
Sewall, Joseph	500.00
Shaw, Robert G.	500.00
Shepherd, Michael	100.00
Shimmin, William	100.00
Silsbee, Nathaniel	100.00
Skinner, John	100.00
Smith, Barney	400.00
Snelling, Samuel	100.00
*Society, Washington Benevolent, Charlestown Branch	200.00
* „ Hollis-street	148.05
* „ First Church	100.67
* „ King's Chapel	114.44
* „ West Church	190.06
* „ Roman Catholic	100.40
* „ First Parish, Dorchester	168.48
* „ Dr. Bancroft's, Worcester	140.60
* „ Dr. Pierce's, Brookline	173.38
Soley, John	100.00
Spear, Samuel	100.00
Spelman, Phineas	100.00
Spooner, William	100.00
Stanton, Francis	100.00
Sturgis, Russell	200.00
Sturgis, William	100.00
Sullivan, George	200.00
Sullivan, Richard	400.00
Sullivan, William	200.00
Tappan, John	350.00
Tappan, Lewis	100.00
Taylor, Charles	300.00
Theatre, Boston	1190.00

Thompson, Abraham	\$100.00
Thorndike, Israel	2000.00
Thorndike, Israel, jun.	100.00
Tilden, Joseph	100.00
Torrey, Catherine	200.00
Torrey, John G.	100.00
Torrey, Samuel	100.00
Touro, Abraham	300.00
Trott, George	100.00
Tucker, Gideon	200.00
Tucker, Richard D.	100.00
Tuckerman, Edward	100.00
Tuckerman, Edward, jun.	500.00
Tuckerman, William and Gustavus	100.00
*Town of Concord	200.00
*Town of Malden	193.80
*Tufts, Cotton	135.00
Tufts, Nathan	100.00
Upham, Phineas	100.00
Vose, Coates, and Co.	100.00
Waldo, Daniel	200.00
Wales, Thomas B.	100.00
Walker, Timothy	150.00
*Walker, William J.	400.00
Ward, Artemas	100.00
*Ward, Nahum	100.00
Ward, Thomas W.	150.00
Ward, William	100.00
Warren, John C.	400.00
Webster, Redford	153.00
Weld, Benjamin	500.00
Welles, John	300.00
Welsh, Francis	200.00
West, Nathaniel	1000.00
Wetmore, Eliza	200.00
Wheeler, Elisha	100.00
Wheeler, Moses	100.00
White, James	300.00
Whitney, Asa	100.00

*Wiggin, Benjamin (Exhibition of Picture)	\$1604.07
Wigglesworth, Thomas	200.00
Williams, John D.	1000.00
Williams, Moses	100.00
Williams, Samuel G.	100.00
Williams, Thomas	100.00
Williams, Timothy	100.00
Winchester, Amasa	100.00
Winthrop, Thomas L.	100.00
Wood, John	100.00

NOTE.—Some of these subscriptions Mr. Rogers ascertained to be the same which were made to free beds; say in all, \$3,712.

SUMMARY OF SUBSCRIPTIONS TO JULY, 1843.

Total for Hospital	\$101,619.21
Total for Asylum	45,373.34
	<hr/>
	\$146,992.57

SUBSCRIPTIONS ANALYZED.

1 of \$20000 is	\$20000.00
4 of 5000 are	20000.00
8 of 2000	16000.00
1 of	1604.07
1 of	1500.00
12 of 1000	12000.00
1 of	650.00
14 of 500	7000.00
1 of	450.00
1 of	420.00
7 of 400	2800.00
1 of	350.00
21 of 300	6300.00
2 of 250	500.00
1 of	220.00
44 of 200	8800.00
1 of	180.00
1 of	175.00
1 of	153.00

13 of 150	\$1950.00
2 of 135	270.00
2 of 125	250.00
1 of	120.00
2 of 110	220.00
151 of 100	15100.00
1 of	94.89
1 of	60.00
6 of 75	450.00
101 of 50	5050.00
1 of	45.00
1 of	44.50
10 of 40	400.00
1 of	37.50
31 of 30	930.00
43 of 25	1075.00
114 of 20	2280.00
1 of	18.00
25 of 15	375.00
1 of	13.00
1 of	12.00
1 of	11.00
178 of 10	1780.00
2 of 7	14.00
257 of 5	1285.00
16 of 4	64.00
36 of 3	108.00
1 of	2.50
42 of 2	84.00
21 of 1	21.00
3 of \$0.50, and 1 of \$0.25	1.75
	<hr/>
	131269.21
Ward Collections	\$847.50
Exhibitions, Concerts, &c.	2782.69
Five Benevolent Societies	8993.64
Twenty-four Religious Societies	2349.97
Twelve Towns	749.56
	<hr/>
	15723.36
	<hr/>
	\$146992.57

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR ENLARGEMENT OF HOSPITAL, 1844.

Amory, Charles	\$500
Amory, James S.	250
Amory, William	500
Andrews, Ebenezer T.	1000
Appleton, Nathan	1000
Appleton, Samuel	2000
Appleton, Samuel A.	100
Appleton, William	2000
Armstrong, Samuel T.	100
Austin, Edward	100
Aylwin, Richard	100
Bacon, Daniel C.	100
Bangs, Benjamin	200
Barnard, Charles	500
Bassett, Francis	100
Bates, John D.	250
Binney, Amos	200
Blake, Mrs. Joshua	200
Blanchard, Edward	500
Boardman, William H.	100
Bowditch, J. Ingersoll	100
Bowditch, N. I.	500
Boyden, Dwight	100
Bradlee, Josiah	1000
Bradlee, James B.	200
Brimmer, Martin	500
Brooks, P. C.	2000
Brooks, P. C. jun.	500
Bromfield, John	100
Bryant, John, jun.	250

Cabot, Henry	\$200
Cary, Thomas G.	100
Carney and Sleeper	100
Chace, Caleb	200
Chadwick, Eben	500
Chandler, Abiel	100
Chickering, Jonas	500
Codman, Charles R.	100
Codman, Henry	100
Colby, Gardner	100
Crowninshield, B. W.	300
Cunningham, A. and C.	100
Curtis, Charles P.	100
Curtis, Thomas B.	100
Dalton, Peter R.	100
Dana, Samuel	100
Dixwell, John James	100
Edmands, J. W.	200
Eliot, Samuel A.	500
Everett, Moses	100
Fales, Samuel	200
Fletcher, Richard	100
Forbes, John M.	100
Francis, Ebenezer	1000
Gardner, George	100
Gardner, John L.	1000
Goodenough, John	100
Goddard, Benjamin	500
Goodwin, Ozias	500
Gray, Francis C.	500
Gray, Horace	300
Gray, John C.	1000
Gray, Samuel C.	100
Gray, William	100
Greene, Elizabeth C.	500
Greene, Sarah	1000
Greenough, David S.	100
Hall, Henry	100
Hallet, George	200

Hayward, George	\$100
Hooper, Nathaniel	100
Hooper, Robert	250
Hooper, Robert C.	100
Hooper, Samuel	250
Howe, George	500
Howe, Jabez C.	200
Iasisi and Goddard	100
Jackson, P. T.	100
Johnson, James	100
Johnson, Samuel	100
Joy, Abigail	100
Kendall, Abel, jun.	100
Kuhn, George H.	100
Lane and Reed	100
Lawrence, Abbott	2000
Lawrence, Amos	1000
Lawrence, Amos A.	100
Lawrence, William	1000
Lawrence and Stone	500
Lee, George	1000
Lee, Thomas	500
Livermore, Isaac	100
Loring, Elijah	100
Loring, Francis C.	100
Low, John J. and Francis	100
Lowell, Francis C.	500
Lowell, John A.	1000
Lyman, Charles	500
Lyman, George W.	500
Lyman, Theodore	1000
Marland, John	100
Mason, Robert M.	100
Mason, William P.	500
Mills, Charles H.	100
Milton and Slocumb	100
Nichols, Benjamin R.	100
Oliver, William	100
Otis, William F.	100

Parker, Daniel P.	\$500
Parker, James	500
Parker, John	1000
Parkman, George	150
Parsons, William	100
Perkins, William P.	100
Peters, Edward D.	100
Phipps, William	100
Pickman, C. Gayton	100
Pope, Paschal P.	500
Pratt, Mary	500
Prescott, William	500
Prescott, William H.	100
Putnam, Samuel R.	100
Quincy, Josiah, jun.	1000
Revere, Joseph W.	100
Rice and Thaxter	100
Richardson, Jeffry, and Brother	100
Robbins, Edward H.	100
Rogers, Henry B.	500
Russell, James D.	100
Richardson, Burrage, and Co.	100
Salisbury, Stephen	500
Sargent, Ignatius	1000
Sargent, Lucius M.	100
Savage, James	100
Sayles, Willard	500
Sears, David	2000
Shaw, R. G.	1000
Skinner, Francis	250
Stickney, Josiah	100
Stoddard, Charles	100
Sturgis, William	1000
Thayer, John E.	500
Thayer, Nathaniel	100
Tilden, Joseph	100
Timmins, Henry	500
Upham, Phineas	1000
Waldo, Daniel, and sister	200

ENLARGEMENT OF HOSPITAL.

425

Wales, Thomas B.	\$1000
Walker, William J.	200
Waterston, Pray, and Co.	100
Warren, John C.	500
Welles, John	500
Wetmore, Thomas	100
Whitney, William F.	100
Wigglesworth, Edward	100
Wigglesworth, Thomas	300
Williams, John D.	2000
Williams, Moses	100
Total	<u>\$62550</u>

ANALYSIS OF THESE SUBSCRIPTIONS.

6 of \$2000	\$12000
19 of 1000	19000
33 of 500	16500
3 of 300	900
6 of 250	1500
14 of 200	2800
78 of 100	7800
2 of 75	150
37 of 50	1850
2 of 25	50
	<u>\$62550</u>

FREE-BED SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Adams, Horatio, 1848-49	\$258.00
Amory, Charles, 1845-46	200.00
Amory, James S., 1845-48	400.00
Amory, William, 1844	100.00
Appleton, Nathan, 1826 and 1840	200.00
Appleton, Samuel, 1850	100.00
Appleton, William, 1837-40, 1847-49	800.00
Belknap, Jeremiah, Life-bed, 1827	654.00
Boston and Lowell Railroad, 1848-49	150.00
Boston and Maine Railroad, 1849	100.00
Boston and Providence Railroad, 1848-49	150.00
Bowditch, H. I., 1847	100.00
Bowditch, N. I., 1841-51	1000.00
Bradlee, Josiah, 1843-50	800.00
Bradlee, Thomas D., 1828	100.00
Brimmer, Martin, 1837-39	300.00
Brooks, Peter C., 1826, \$100; 1828, Life-bed, \$810	910.00
Bryant, John, 1849	100.00
Bullard, William S., 1850	100.00
Bumstead, John, 1828	100.00
Codman, Henry, 1833-36	400.00
Coolidge, Joseph, 1827-31	500.00
Cushing, John P., 1829-43, 1845-47	2900.00
Cutler, Pliny, 1836	100.00
Cutler, William C., 1837-38	200.00
Dixwell, John James, 1841	100.00
Dwight, Edmund, 1828-33, 1845-49	1100.00
Eliot, Catherine, 1826	100.00
Eliot, Samuel A., 1826, 1828, 1840, 1845-47	600.00
Fales, Samuel, 1828	100.00
Ferriera, L. G., 1839	100.00
Francis, Ebenezer, 1826-32	700.00

Gray, Francis C., 1828-31, 1840-41	\$600.00
Gray, John C., 1828-32	500.00
Greene, Gardiner, 1828-32	500.00
Greene, J. S. C., 1843-48	600.00
Hallet, George, Life-bed, 1836	600.00
Hallet, Mrs. George, Life-bed, 1846	600.00
Head, Joseph, sen. and jun., Executors, 1826	1200.00
Head, Joseph, 1827-28	200.00
Howard Benevolent Society, 1828	100.00
Howe, George, 1840, 1841	200.00
Hubbard, Samuel, 1837	100.00
Humane Society, 1825-50	9700.00
Ives, R. H., 1847	100.00
Jackson, Charles, 1826-43	1800.00
Jackson, Patrick T., 1822 and 1827-40	1460.00
Jeffries, John, 1835 and 1844-47, 1849-50	800.00
Joy, Elizabeth, 1847-48	166.67
Joy, Hannah, 1833-34, 1836-42	900.00
Lambert, William, 1823	400.00
Lawrence, Abbott, 1828	100.00
Lawrence, Amos, 1826-32 and 1841	800.00
Lawrence, William, 1828	100.00
Loring, Abby M., 1847-50	400.00
Lowell, Francis C., 1845-50	500.00
Lowell, John A., 1843 and 1846-49	500.00
Lyman, Theodore, 1839, 1840-42	900.00
Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, 1832, 1845-50	2325.00
Munson, Israel, 1826-28, 1831-38, 1843	1200.00
Oxnard, Henry, 1843	100.00
Parker, Daniel P., 1828	100.00
Parker, John, 1826-40	1500.00
Parker, J. B., 1845-47	237.50
Parsons, William, 1826	100.00
Perkins, James, 1826	200.00
Perkins, Thomas H., 1825-33	820.00
Phillips, Jonathan, 1828-32, 1843-50	1200.00
Phillips, William, 1826-27	300.00
Pratt, Elizabeth, 1849-50	200.00

Pratt, Sarah P., 1848-50	\$300.00
Pratt, William, 1828, 1840-42	400.00
Prescott, William, 1828	100.00
Raymond, E. A., 1848	100.00
Redman, John, 1844-46	300.00
Reed, Hannah, 1844-50	700.00
Robbins, Edward H., 1827-29	270.00
Rogers, Henry B., 1844-46, 1849-50	500.00
Salisbury, Elizabeth, 1833-43, 1846-50	1600.00
Sears, David, 1825 and 1840	200.00
Shattuck, George C., 1829	100.00
Shaw, Robert G., 1828, 1840, 1842-43, 1845-50	1000.00
Stanton, Francis, 1835	100.00
Stone, William W., 1847	100.00
Sturgis, William, 1827-32, 1840-43, 1845-48	1300.00
Tappan, John, 1826	100.00
Thorndike, Israel, 1826	100.00
Ticknor, George, 1826-30	500.00
Tuckerman, Edward, 1828-32	500.00
Waldo, Daniel, 1839	100.00
Waldo, E. and S., 1827, 1829-50	2300.00
Wales, Thomas B., Life-bed, 1828	825.00
Williams, John D., 1826-48	2300.00
Williams, Moses, 1847-50	400.00
<hr/>	
Total to 1851	\$65,069.17

LEGACIES, DONATIONS, DEVISES.

Dec.	1843.	Appleton, William, for relief of indi- gent patients at Asylum	\$10000.00	
Aug.	1830.	Belknap, Jeremiah, for free beds . .	10000.00	
Nov.	1832.	} Belknap, Mary	89882.60	
to Jan.	1833.			
Jan.	1841.	Brimmer, Mary Anne, for free beds .	5000.00	
July,	1845.	Brown, John (lost in the "Lexington")	100.00	
March,	1847.	Clough, Sarah, a domestic	599.84	
Feb.	1811,	{ Commonwealth of Massachu- setts: Old Province House 40000.00 And for labor of convicts at Hospital . . \$30893.84 At Asylum . . 4176.43 ————— 35070.27	75070.27	
				&c.
Dec.	1838.	Courtis, Ambrose S., \$10,000, compro- mised with heirs for	2500.00	
March,	1826.	Crocker, Allen	100.00	
Feb.	1825.	Davis, Eleanor, for free beds . . .	900.00	
April,	1820.	Eliot, Samuel, for the Asylum . . .	10000.00	
July,	1844.	Everett, Moses, donation of	116.00	
Oct.	1830.	Lee, Joseph, heir of Francis Lee, a de- ceased patient, stocks, valued at .	20000.00	
June,	1813.	Lucas, John, six shares in Worcester Turnpike, worth	900.00	
Feb. 1,	1824,	} M'Lean, John	\$94858.20	
to Nov.	1827.			
Oct.	1834.	And, after his widow's death,	25000.00	
			119858.20	
Aug.	1834.	Moseley, Jonathan	753.46	
March,	1844.	Munson, Israel	20000.00	
May,	1849.	Nichols, Benjamin R.	6000.00	

Jan. 1826.	Oliver, Thomas	\$22438.70
Sept. 1827.	Phillips, William, for free beds . .	5000.00
July, 1836.	Richardson, Susan, for female free beds	250.00
Nov. 1819.	Russell, Polly	400.00
May, 1845.	Russell, W.	100.00
Aug. 1831 to } July, 1843. }	Thomas, Isaiah, bequest .	\$4599.81
May, 1845.	„ „	182.02
Aug. 1846.	„ „	235.00
Oct. 1847, to } Dec. 1850. }	„ „	240.00
		<hr/> 5256.83
Feb. 1850.	Todd, Henry	5000.00
July, 1823.	Touro, Abraham	10000.00
Sept. 1820.	Tucker, Beza, House in Boylston Place, sold for	5350.00
Aug. 1842.	Tucker, Margaret, his daughter, for free beds	2929.97
Dec. 1845.	Waldo, Daniel	40000.00
Nov. 1841.	Warren, John C., fund for books to be given to Hospital patients . . .	1000.00
Nov. 1822.	Webber, Seth	1000.00
March, 1841.	Westerfield, Peter, for poor patients .	165.67
April, 1851.	Wilder, Dr. Charles W., of Leominster, for free beds	20000.00
March, 1849.	Williams, John D., store, which now rents for the interest of \$17,000 .	13000.00
		<hr/> Making in all . . \$503,822.86

The valuations in this list are those on the books of the Hospital. The Province House, appraised at \$40,000, brought only \$33,000. On the Lee donation there was perhaps a loss of \$7,000 more. From the Wilder donation there should be a deduction of \$4,000 more; the M'Lean \$25,000 was also deficient. These deductions (about \$20,000) are probably ba-

GRAND SUMMARY OF SUBSCRIPTIONS, &c.

Total donations, &c.	\$654,510.36	
Original subscriptions for Asylum . .	\$45,373.34	
Original subscriptions for Hos- pital	\$101,619.21	
Subscriptions for enlargement of Hospital	62,550.00	
	<u>164,169.21</u>	
		<u>209,542.55</u>
		864,052.91
Free-bed subscriptions	65,069.17	
		<u>929,022.08</u>
Deduct the error noticed by Mr. Rogers, p. 419 .	3,712.00	
		<u>925,410.08</u>
William Appleton's new donation	20,000.00	
		<u>945,410.08</u>
Reversionary interests, say —		
Present value of Province House, leased till 1916	\$10,000.00	
John Redman's bequest, at least . .	100,000.00	
Thomas Oliver's bequest	50,000.00	
John Bromfield's bequest	40,000.00	
John Parker's bequest	10,000.00	
	<u>210,000.00</u>	
		<u>1155,410.08</u>
Estimated value of the rights under the charter of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Com- pany, at least	100,000.00	
		<u>\$1,255,410.08</u>
Grand Total	\$1,255,410.08	

SAY, A MILLION AND A QUARTER OF DOLLARS.

RESULTS OF ADMISSIONS AND DISCHARGES AT THE McLEAN
ASYLUM FROM ITS ESTABLISHMENT.

Year.	Admitted.	Discharged.	Recovered.	Dead.	All other Discharges.	Remaining at end of year.	Average.
1818 } . .	58	35	11	5	19	23	
1819 } . .							
1820 . . .	44	40	11	1	28	27	
1821 . . .	47	46	10	3	33	28	
1822 . . .	64	50	14	5	31	42	
1823 . . .	73	61	20	2	39	54	
1824 . . .	53	56	23	5	28	51	
1825 . . .	59	56	21	8	27	54	
1826 . . .	47	46	20	5	21	55	
1827 . . .	58	56	34	5	17	57	
1828 . . .	77	65	23	5	37	69	
1829 . . .	73	77	26	9	42	65	
1830 . . .	82	78	34	10	34	69	
1831 . . .	83	84	30	8	46	68	
1832 . . .	94	98	43	10	45	64	
1833 . . .	103	100	42	8	50	67	
1834 . . .	107	95	41	7	47	80	
1835 . . .	83	84	45	11	28	77	
1836 . . .	106	112	64	10	38	71	
1837 . . .	120	105	72	8	25	86	80
1838 . . .	138	131	74	12	45	93	95
1839 . . .	132	117	69	10	38	108	112
1840 . . .	155	138	75	13	50	125	128
1841 . . .	157	141	75	11	55	142	135
1842 . . .	129	138	80	15	43	133	143
1843 . . .	127	126	63	18	45	134	131
1844 . . .	158	140	68	19	53	152	146
1845 . . .	119	120	74	13	33	151	149
1846 . . .	148	126	65	9	52	173	164
1847 . . .	170	170	87	33	50	173	172
1848 . . .	143	155	82	23	50	155	171
1849 . . .	161	137	64	15	58	184	177
1850 . . .	173	157	78	28	51	200	201
Total . .	3341	3140	1538	344	1258		
Since Dr. Bell	2030	1901	1026	227	648		
Before „	1311	1239	512	117	610		
	3341	3140	1538	344	1258		

How much of joy and of sorrow, of life and of death, is compressed within this little table of admissions and discharges! An *army* of more than *thirteen thousand* sufferers received, comforted, and cared for in our institution; ~~four~~^{five} thousand of these at last discharged well, and ~~six~~^{four} thousand more, to a greater or less extent, relieved: on the other hand, more than eleven hundred of them borne from within our walls to their long home! What can surpass the eloquence of statistics!

In view of the facts now presented, one or two concluding remarks may, with propriety, be made; and, first, the question may perhaps fairly be asked, whether an institution which has been already thus liberally endowed needs, or can ever need, any further aid. To this I answer, that our two estates for the sick and the insane have cost over \$500,000; that our present invested funds, as stated in the last annual report for 1851, were \$171,119.98, to which add Mr. Wilder's legacy, since received, and the amount is about \$200,000, yielding an interest of \$12,000,—making, with the annual payment of \$5,000 from the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, a total income of \$17,000. The reversionary property

to which the Hospital is eventually entitled, on the decease of certain tenants for life, &c., will not probably be received for many years, nor until the increasing wants of the institution will exhaust all the additional income thus derived.* The number of patients at the Asylum is now two hundred, — as many, it is believed by the Trustees, as should ever be under the care of one physician. This department, therefore, will never be materially enlarged. The amount charged for board of its inmates was, during the last year, \$44,183.87. It fully supports itself, or defrays its

* If from the total donations, &c.	\$1,255,410.08	
We deduct the amounts hitherto received from the Life Insurance Company	\$150,687.50	
Also the free-bed subscriptions	65,069.17	
	<hr/>	
The same having been received and expended as income	\$215,756.67	
Also the estimated value of the life-office char- ters, which may be at any time annulled by the Legislature	100,000.00	
Also the reversionary interests not receivable for many years	210,000.00	
	<hr/>	525,756.67
		<hr/>
There will remain for the cost of Hospital and Asylum, and the invested funds yielding income	\$729,653.41	
The actual balance on the Treasurer's books, January, 1851, is \$700,029.38, which, of course, does not include Dr. Wild- er's legacy of \$20,000, &c.		
By the Treasurer's books, it appears that the —		
Cost of Hospital to January, 1851, was . .	\$269,463.92	
Cost of Asylum to January, 1851, was . .	246,345.98	
Cost of Mr. Appleton's new buildings will be	20,000.00	
	<hr/>	535,809.90
		<hr/>
The balance is the value of the whole invested property . .	\$193,843.51	
Or say about \$200,000.		

own current annual expenses.* But there are no free beds in that department, and no means available for reducing the expenses of its patients, except the six hundred dollars a year derived from Mr. Appleton's ten thousand dollar fund. Now, it is obvious that the sum of six or even twelve thousand dollars a year could be advantageously applied for that object. This alone would absorb the income of an additional hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Further, the grounds of the Asylum are by no means sufficiently extensive. There should be a small farm for cultivation, besides more spacious enclosures for gardens, &c. One hundred thousand dollars more would perhaps be judiciously expended for these objects. Though this department, therefore, is at present carried on without being a burden to the general funds of the Corporation, an additional donation of two or three hundred thousand dollars could be most usefully applied in reducing the expenses and increasing the comforts of its large band of unfortunate inmates.

At the Hospital in Boston, there are eighty free beds; and, of the remaining patients, few pay over three dollars, — about half the actual cost. The

* Any apparent annual surplus of *receipts* from the Asylum is believed to be less than the salaries of the officers, which, being paid by the Treasurer from the general funds, increase to that extent the *expenses* of this department.

result is, as stated in the last report, that its annual expenses exceed its annual receipts by the large sum of twenty-five thousand dollars; while, as we have just seen, our whole yearly income is but seventeen thousand dollars.* This deficiency has hitherto been made good by private subscriptions for free beds, and by those occasional bequests, &c., from year to year, by which the diminished property of the institution has been replaced. The permanent supply of this deficiency would require an additional donation of a hundred and fifty thousand dollars. A separate building for the accommodation of contagious, offensive, or delirious patients, is at this very time urgently pressed upon the notice of the Trustees. The mere cost of a suitable fence is estimated at ten or fifteen thousand dollars; and the Board have not hitherto felt themselves justified in ordering one, though well aware that the present unsightly structure disfigures

* The salaries of the institution are as follows: —

Treasurer	\$500
Secretary and Auditor	200
Physician of Asylum, including annual grant of \$500	2000
Steward and Matron of Asylum	1450
Assistant Physician of Asylum	700
Male Supervisor of Asylum	500
Female Supervisor of Asylum	400
Superintendent of Hospital	1500
Admitting Physician of Hospital	200
Apothecary of Hospital, say (average)	300
Four Medical and Surgical House-pupils at Hospital, \$50 each	200
	<hr/>
	\$7950

and disgraces the institution. Besides, the Hospital at present accommodates only about a hundred and twenty patients, — a number extremely small, when compared with that in any similar establishment of the Old World. The necessity of another separate Hospital has been, for this reason, already strenuously and ably urged upon the consideration of the City Government. There can be no doubt, indeed, that, with the growing necessities of an advancing population, additional buildings must and will be eventually erected within our enclosure, — greatly increasing the cost of this portion of our fixed property, and also its future annual expenses. An additional donation of two or three hundred thousand dollars for the ultimate extension of this department would probably be a most judicious and useful charity.

One other question also perhaps remains to be asked, viz. Have the large sums already given by the community been faithfully managed and applied? and have the results of our two departments been commensurate with the magnitude of the means placed at our disposal? To this inquiry, I trust that the present publication will afford a satisfactory reply. It has certainly been the constant endeavor of the Trustees to check, and if possible prevent, all abuses. In their appointments to office, they have always aimed at selecting, without fear or favor, those indivi-

duals whom they conscientiously believed to be best qualified. The general fitness and wisdom of these appointments they fearlessly leave to the judgment of an intelligent public. Where, indeed, can be found physicians more wise or more kind than those who, from year to year, have stood by the bedside of our patients? or surgeons more skilful than those to whose firm and cautious hands we have, from year to year, entrusted their lives and limbs as unhesitatingly as we would have done our own? Where are nurses more faithful and devoted than our own "sisters of charity"? Who could have better "ministered to the mind diseased" than those who have successively been called by us to that highest of human trusts,—the cure of insanity? How ably have the complicated details of our two establishments been managed by those to whom, from time to time, we have confided that difficult and delicate task! That deficiencies exist, indeed, in each department of the institution, its Trustees are well aware. For instance, inadequate opportunities for air and exercise afforded to the female patients at the Asylum, and a tendency to an excess of foreigners among the patients at the Hospital, they feel to be evils; and the latter especially one of the greatest magnitude, tending to the entire violation of the intent of its original founders. The Admitting Physician has been requested to use

the utmost vigilance on this point, that none may be received who should properly be sent to the city institutions at South Boston. The admission of such patients creates in the minds of our own citizens a prejudice against the Hospital, making them unwilling to enter it,—and thus tends directly to lower the general standing and character of its inmates. Some such admissions must unavoidably take place. Thus there has always existed a most excellent rule, that every case of sudden accident may at once be brought to the Hospital. A broken arm or leg is a plenary certificate, entitling the *bearer* to all its benefits. Of these sufferers by accidents,—laborers on railroads, canals, buildings, &c.,—a very large proportion are Irish. Some of them are, in all respects, most deserving and suitable persons; while others are so repulsive in their personal habits and appearance as to be disgusting and offensive to those near them, and most unwelcome and unfit guests for our neat and orderly establishment.*

On the whole, however, it is believed that both institutions have been uniformly managed with great

* In such cases, the primary medical prescription is a warm bath; and, in many instances, a bath of any kind is obviously an entire novelty. An Irishman of this class was received into a sister institution, and, for the first time in his life, made perfectly clean. As he emerged from the unwonted process, the physician said to him, “Well, Patrick, how do you feel?” His reply was, “Och faith! yer honor, and sure I can’t tell ye till to-morrow; for ’tis the first time in me life I ever tried it.”

fidelity and success. Massachusetts has, indeed, within her borders no nobler monuments than her General Hospital for the sick, and her McLean Asylum for the insane. Glorious memorials of Christian charity, teachers of the great lesson of man's brotherhood to man! long may ye stand, an honor to the ages past, a blessing throughout the ages to come!

ERRATA.

Page v. middle, for "attributes," read "attribute."

" 13, line 8, for "was not passed," read "was passed."

" 49, line 1, for "in perpetuance," read "*in perpetuum*."

" 163, line 1, for "declared," read "decmed."

" 195, last line but one, for "passed," read "madc."

" 336, note: "You or Mr. Lord," in the pamphlet quoted, is obviously a mistake for "You, Mr. Lord."

" 400, middle, for " (1818)," read " (1813)."

" 414, line 7, for " \$300," read " \$1300."

" 435, sixth line from foot, for "Mr. Wilder's," read "Dr. Wilder's."

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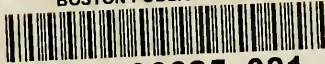
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